



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: PCR 417

**COURSE TITLE:
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY**



**COURSE
GUIDE**

**PCR 417
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY**

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INTRODUCTION

PCR 417: International Relations and Security, is a one semester course. It will be available for all students to study the core module of the international studies programme. This course is suitable for all final year students of Political Science and International Relations.

This course consists of 21 units that examine in detail the nature of international relations, and the security challenges confronting the international system. It is therefore concerned about the various characters of relationships among states. In the course of the relationships, compromise, confrontation and cooperation (the three Cs) are brought to bear. In the states' efforts at protecting their individual national interests, there have been series of clashes that continue to question the nature of security in existence. The course is therefore bound to examine the various forms of confrontations that have plagued the system; in this examination, we are also introduced the measures that have been taken to minimise the incidence of conflicts and ensure that the prospects of maintaining international peace and security are realised.

There are compulsory prerequisites for this course. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you need to use and how you can work your way through these materials. It also emphasises the necessity for tutor-marked assignments. There are also periodic tutorial classes that are linked to this course.

WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

The overall objective of PCR 417: International Relations and Security, is to expose the students to the whole gamut of issues surrounding the attainment and maintenance of a secured global environment, where a sense of community and harmony would prevail.

Your understanding of this course will serve to expose you to a very important part of international studies that deals with the probable nature of relationships among states.

COURSE AIMS

The basic aim we intend to achieve in this course is to expose the student to the reality of international relations and the security challenges that are inherent in inter-state relations. It is important that the student is made aware that the possibility of conflict is not the only

constant element in global interactions, but also that cooperation is a constant variable in inter-state relations.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

Several objectives can be delineated from this course. In addition, each unit has specific objectives. The unit objectives can be found at the beginning of each unit. You may want to refer to them as you study the particular unit to check on the progress you are making. You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit. In this way, you can be sure that you have covered what is required of you in that unit.

On successful completion of the course, you should be able to:

- identify the structural variants of the international system
- describe the basis of international economic relations
- explain the systems of international law
- deduce the origin and processes of international organisations
- explain the evolution of modern international law
- derive the sources of modern international law
- generate the various theories of international relations
- identify with the nature and character of international security
- identify the various international actors and the mode of their interactions
- explain the nature of state power
- list the conditions for international conflict
- derive mechanisms for resolving peculiar international conflicts
- outline the workings of peace processes
- derive how diplomacy has been useful in maintaining peace
- indicate the usefulness of collective security mechanisms

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete this course you are required to read the study units, read recommended textbooks and other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). All the units contain self-assessment exercises, and at points in the course, you are required to submit tutor-marked assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of this course, is a final examination. Stated below are the components of the course and what you are expected to do.

COURSE MATERIALS

1. Course Guide
2. Study Units
3. Textbooks and other Reference Sources
4. Assignment File
5. Presentation

It cannot be sufficiently stressed that you must obtain the text materials. They are provided by the NOUN. You may also be able to purchase the materials from the bookshops. Please, contact your tutor if you have problems in obtaining the text materials.

STUDY UNITS

There are 21 study units in this course, they are as follows:

Module 1

- Unit 1 Understanding the Growth and Development of the International System
- Unit 2 International Economic Relations
- Unit 3 International Law
- Unit 4 International Organisations

Module 2

- Unit 1 Integration Theory
- Unit 2 System Theory
- Unit 3 Balance of Power Theory
- Unit 4 Power Theory

Module 3

- Unit 1 State Actors in International Relations
- Unit 2 Intergovernmental Non-State Actors
- Unit 3 Non-governmental Non-State Actors
- Unit 4 International Personalities

Module 4

- Unit 1 Political Power
- Unit 2 Economic Power
- Unit 3 Socio-Cultural Power
- Unit 4 Military Power

Module 5

- Unit 1 The Nature and Character of Terrorism
- Unit 2 Securitisation Models
- Unit 3 Diplomacy
- Unit 4 Peace Models
- Unit 5 Collective Security Systems

Each unit contains a number of self-tests. In general, these self-tests are based on the materials you have just covered or requires you to apply it in some way. They are to assist you to gauge your progress as well as reinforce your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignments, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the course.

SET TEXTBOOKS

You may be required to purchase these textbooks stated below.

Collins, A. (Ed.). (2007). *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spanier, J. (1987). *Games Nations Play*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Akinboye, S. & Ottoh, F. (2009). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Finch, G. (2000). *The Sources of Modern International Law*. NY: William Hein and Co. Inc.

ASSIGNMENT FILE

There are many assignments for this course, with each unit having at least one assignment. These assignments are basically meant to assist you to understand the course. In this file, you will find all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain for these assignments will count towards the final mark you obtain for the course. Further information on the assignment can be found in the assignment file itself, and later in this course guide in the section on assessment.

ASSESSMENT SCHEDULE

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First, are the tutor-marked assignments; second, is the written examination. In tackling the assignments, you are expected to apply the information,

knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the assignment file. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment accounts for 30 per cent of your total course mark. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination of three hours duration. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

There are a number of tutor-marked assignments in this course. You only need to submit 28 of them. The best five (i.e. the five highest score of the 28 tutor-marked assignments) are taken into account. Each assignment carries 20 marks but on the average when the five assignments are put together, then each assignment will count for 10% towards your total course mark. This implies that the total marks for the best three (3) assignments which would have been 100 marks will now be 30% of your total course mark.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for PCR 417: International Relations and Security will be of three hours' duration and it accounts for 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions which reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. When you complete the last unit revise the entire course before the examination. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and comment on them before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

Assessment	Marks
Assignments	Best four marks of the assignment @ 10% each (on the average) = 30% of course marks
Final examination	70% of overall course marks
Total	100% of course marks

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lectures. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through these specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the

lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you what to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise.

Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course.

The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from a reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or post the question on the web (GS OLE's) discussion board. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course.

1. Read this course guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
2. Organise a study schedule- design a 'course overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information, e.g. details of your tutorials, and the date of the first day of the semester is available from the Web (GS OLE). You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose, you should decide on and fill in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
3. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late.

4. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
5. Assemble the study materials. You will need your textbooks and the unit you are studying at any point in time.
6. Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
7. Visit your study centre for up-to-date course information which will be available there.
8. Well before the relevant due dates (about four weeks before due dates); access the assignment file for your next required assignment. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
9. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.
10. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.
11. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule.
12. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.
13. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you

are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor-marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if you:–

- do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
- have difficulties with the exercises.
- have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

SUMMARY

This course guide has introduced you to every aspect of your course on international relations and security. We wish you success in your studies.

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COURSE**

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MODULE 1

Unit 1	Understanding the Growth and Development of the International System
Unit 2	International Economic Relations
Unit 3	International Law
Unit 4	International Organisations

UNIT 1 UNDERSTANDING THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Evolution of the International System
3.2	The Contemporary International System
3.3	The Structure of the International System
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Understanding the international system is complex as it requires adequate appreciation of nation-building and the maintenance and improvement of relations with other nations in the global community. The system has gone through series of developmental processes until berthing at the contemporary international system that is characterised by a high degree of interaction and interdependence. This unit would deepen knowledge on the various conditions of the international system. The international system is dynamic in nature, and there has been polemics as to whether there is orderliness or not within the system amongst scholars. However, whether there is orderliness within the system or not has implications for global security, which we must understand is all encompassing.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the dominant characteristics for the various international systems
- identify the various characteristics of the contemporary system
- explicate the various structural patterns of the international system
- identify the motive forces influencing the present international system.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Evolution of the International System

Efforts at understanding the international system can be traced to the study of diplomatic history; the study of current affairs after the First World War, as well as universal principles of the international system. This stage was followed by the study of international institutions, through law and organisations as mechanisms for solving global problems of conflict (Adeniran, 1983). There was concerted effort to develop the legal framework to tackle the problems of war and socio-economic deprivation. The outbreak of the Second World War (WW II) in 1939 influenced a paradigm shift to understanding forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of states; such as the determinants of foreign policies, techniques of the conduct of foreign relations, and the mode for the resolution of international conflict. The emergence of the Realists School enhanced the development of scientific theories to explain international phenomena. Information and communication technological revolution, interdependence of people, and the emergence of new nation-states contributed significantly to the growing interest in the global system.

Specifically, in the year 1414 the Council of Constance assembled ignored to shape the political and spiritual fortunes of Europe. The breakdown of the medieval system and the coming of the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Renaissance, the Age of Discoveries, Expansion in Trade and Commerce characterised the influencing factors that led to the evolution of the state system. The analysis of the international system therefore begins with the historical formation of the state system; fragmented into several sovereignties. The historic Peace Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, brought the princes and diplomats together to find lasting peaceful solution to the war that had fragmented Europe for over thirty years.

The period 1648-1713 marked another phase in the development of the state – international system, characterised by competition and the struggle for supremacy among the European powers for colonial territories in the Western Hemisphere. The period 1814 -15 known as the period of Britannica, and the congress of Vienna where the ‘Principles of Compensation and Legitimacy’ were invoked to restore the balance of power in the international system. This attempt was a temporary effort to lay the foundation of a political and international system which later shaped the course of European and, by extension, world affairs. This was the era of the European state system, when the international system was regarded as Euro-centric in character.

The Euro-centric era gave way to new dimensions of the relationship that allowed for the expansion of the system, and by extension, made international relations more complex. There are about 193 independent States comprising the international system, as members of the United Nations organisation. The increase in membership has been attributed to the disintegration of the colonial territories and the breakup of the former Soviet bloc. Under the subsisting conditions, every state is equal before international law, thus, every state strives to protect, promote and defend her national interest at all cost, even to the point of going to war if it is felt that the pursuit of the goal is in any way threatened.

3.2 The Contemporary International System

Contemporary international system is characterised by economic division between the rich North and the poor South that creates a ‘Dominance-Dependency’ syndrome that undermines equal cooperation and beneficial interaction. The history of the international system is replete with hegemonic role of European states, caught in the web of internecine wars, in a bid to expand by acquiring more territories and also establishing dominance over one another. It is therefore a departure from ‘Détente’ and ‘Isolationism’ to the transformation of the characteristic behaviour of the system. Evolutionary trends in the international system testify to changes in the global system. The First World War of 1914 -1919, the Russian Revolution of 1917 as well as the Second World War 1939 -1945 brought with them some radical changes (Akinboye & Ottoh, 2009). Since the end of the W. W. II, the nation-state system has become internationalized as global politics embraced all the nations of the world., and caused a shift from Europe to America, from ‘Unicentric’ to ‘Multicentric’ systems and, the redefinition of the ‘Collective Defiance and Balance of Power’.

The end of the W.W. II saw the United States of America rising to the position of diplomatic leadership and coming to the limelight in world affairs. The USA provided the architectural designs for the formation of

the League of Nations but failed to partake in the building of the walls of peace. It also initiated and executed the establishment of the post-war international organisation, which is the United Nations. As the post-war institutions were established, there arose the agitation for reforms by democratising them to reflect the reality of contemporary world politics.

With the various changes, the international system touches every aspect of the life of nations, viz; economic, political, military, industrial, among others. The post - W. W. II politics was dominated by the hegemonic struggle between the former Soviet Union leading the Eastern bloc, and the United States leading the Western bloc. This era was characterised by armed race and excessive nationalism. The event in Eastern Europe is the basis of analysis of the Post-Cold War International System. In 1985, economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union led to the introduction of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika' - i.e. openness and transparency. This was in response to the call for the establishment of a new international economic system. The unification of Germany in 1990, dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and the abandonment of one-party rule in eastern and western states, changed the character of the international system. These changes laid the foundation on which the post-World War II Order was built, giving rise to the 'New World Order' and ending the debate about 'Unipolarity' and 'Multipolarity'.

The political and economic integration of Europe therefore paved the way for global liberalisation and democratisation with the wind of democratic change that blew across the continent of Africa, thereby influencing the transformation of the international system. The world today is structurally tending towards unipolarism, because the United States has assigned to itself a new role in world politics as the 'chief security officer' of the world, thereby marking the destruction of the balance of power principle. This scenario in the international system is likely to invigorate multilateral diplomacy with a view to curbing the overt domination by one power, through the expansion in the composition of the permanent members of the Security Council. This development coupled with the desire of nations to acquire nuclear weapons will result in polycentrism or the establishment of a polycentric international system.

3.3 Structure of the International System

First there exists a global system in which international actors are co-inhabitants; the existence of different international actors; constructive engagement and interactions at bilateral and multilateral levels; and the resultant problems of conflict of interests present the basic elements that have sustained interest in the international system. The configuration of

power in the international system from 1945 to 1989 had a bi-polar structure, divided into capitalist West under the United States leadership and the communist East led by the Soviet Union. The USA adopted such foreign policy strategies like isolationism and containment to check the spread of communism; and the Munroe Doctrine and the Marshall Plan to strengthen economic relationships with allied partners in the Cold War era. From 1989, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union into 15 independent republics, the ideologically inspired hostility between the East and the West came to an end. Since 1990, the only super power remaining is the USA, leading to the promotion of a 'New World Order'; an environment for the conduct of foreign policy by all the states at the global level.

The analysis of the nature of the international system focused on the boundaries of the systems, its structure as it relates to power, its units, and their interactions. The amorphous structure of the international system is the earth, covering the entire globe inhabited by the human race, bordering on the examination of the degree of centralisation and integration. Consequently, the international system is power-structured and so centralised that it becomes difficult to integrate Third World countries into it after the post-war and post Cold War era. The simple explanation is that the international system is dominated by the industrialised nations, making developing countries to be dependent on them.

Frankel (1969) classified the international system into six structural types:

- Hierarchical Structure
- Diffuse/Universal Structure
- Bipolar Structure
- Unipolar System
- Multipolar System

Hierarchical structure

Known as the stratification system, this model is hierarchically-structured with the concentration of power and influence in a single unit of authority. The superpowers are found in this pyramid and they try to prevent any other power that attempts to challenge their hegemony. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation with USA at the apex and the defunct Warsaw pact are hierarchically structured with chains of command and control from the apex to the bottom. The international system according to this model is structured into 'developed countries' with a disproportionate share of resources (USA, Japan, Germany, etc); 'partly developed countries' (Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Argentina,

etc); and the 'developing countries' of many countries but few resources (Senegal, Bangladesh, Haiti, Philippines, etc).

Diffuse/universal structure

The international system is where power and authority is widely distributed among the interacting states in accordance with their capabilities. Each member tries to exercise its influence within the limit of its capability and resources, without external domination and ideological impositions. In an arrangement similar to the United Nations, there exist diffuse power blocs as there are two opposing blocs interspaced in-between them. These are the aligned countries- superpowers and, the non-aligned countries – the developing world. In this system, communication and interaction go in all directions except when bloc members tend to become dependent upon or subservient to bloc leaders and conduct new relations with opposing bloc members or non-aligned countries. The African and Asian countries that are members of the United Nations interact constantly.

Bipolar structure

The type of international system that emerged after the W.W.II was bipolar in nature. The world was divided into two ideological military blocs, one representing the East and another, the West. The formation of NATO (USA, Canada, France, Israel, Japan, United Kingdom, West Germany) and the WARSAW pact (Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany, Hungary, Poland) signalled the bipolarisation of the international system. These two blocs dominated the military and diplomatic authority, with clusters of lesser states around them. Communication and interaction follow polar lines, fanning the ember of armament race and increasing the need to bring down the tensions emanating from bipolarisation of the international system into antagonistic military blocs each struggling for supremacy and domination.

Unipolar structure

Unipolarity is the emerging phenomenon after the end of the Cold War which was the direct reaction to the bipolarisation of the world. The Unipolar international system is the dilemma the whole world is caught in, although, some will describe the present international system as tripolar because of the current integration process in the various continents, like the European Union, the African Union, and eventual expansion of the Security Council.

Multi-polar structure

This structure of the international system leads to the formation of alliances in a balance of power (Great Britain, Austria, Russia, France, etc). The United Nations is a semblance of a multi-polar system which

is very flexible compared to the bipolar system which is rigid, hence, does not allow others to join. The United Nations is the largest political representation of all countries of the world irrespective of size, resource and strength.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In trying to understand the international system, the behaviour of states in relation to their capability is very fundamental as this helps to explain the workings of the international system. The military, economic, resources and technological strength are vital in influencing the formulation of a nation's foreign policy. The evolution of the international system dates from the periods of the Holy Alliance, the congress of Vienna, the quadruple alliance and the quintuple alliance, the League of Nations and the United Nations and quasi-institutions. The concert of Europe was concerned with the prevention of dynasties and imperial interests from destroying the European balance of power. The Versailles Peace Treaty laid the foundation of the foremost international organisation. In the final analysis, the contemporary international system wears a garb of interdependence, especially with the subsisting globalisation of the system.

5.0 SUMMARY

A meaningful understanding of the international system must be preceded by a diagnostic view of the nature and complexity inherent in this arena of world politics. The international system is a collection of independent political units which interact with some regularity in the exchange of ideas, information, goods and services. To this extent, the international system is that organised interaction among states, moderated for peace and stability in the world. The internalisation of the global system due to high level of interdependence among nation-states, has led to a decline in the sovereignty of national governments, reduced the primacy of the state as an actor within the international system, and increased the influence of intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, as extra-state international actors.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Trace the evolutionary process of the international system.
- ii. What are the distinguishing factors of the Euro-centric system and the contemporary system?
- iii. Using examples, describe what constitutes the international system.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Adeniran, T. (1983). *Introduction to International Relations*. Lagos: Macmillan Publishers.

Akinboye, S. & Ottoh, F. (2009). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Frankel, J. (1969). *International Politics: Conflict and Harmony*. London: Pelican Books.

UNIT 2 INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The state and the economy have a direct relationship, just as the analysis of other international system should be predicated on the foundation of the economy. Marxist philosophers uphold that the economy is the substructure on which the state's political superstructure rests. Consequent to the 'Cold War' the international economic relations became characterised by a system of interactions among participating organisations engaged in activities in accordance with rules and orders, as it relates to production, distribution of goods and services. This scenario presented two extreme ideologies; one operating on the market mechanism, while the other operates as a central planning agency or command economy. This unit would elucidate on the conditions that have guided economic relations, and more importantly, the circumstances surrounding the triumph of one of the economic ideologies.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- describe the ideologies that have guided international economic relations
- identify the qualities of states experiencing economic growth and development
- indicate the impact of economic viability on a visible international role
- explain the present character of international economic relations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Dynamics of International Economic Relations

The most fundamental force in contemporary globalisation process is economic liberalisation, which has been embraced by virtually all countries and major international institutions within the global system. Economic liberalisation refers to the process of achieving unobstructed economic activities. It seeks to remove all obstacles to trade, production and investment; emphasises freedom of economic activities and dominance of private enterprises; and aims ultimately at the divorce of the state from the economy. At the global level, economic liberalisation attempts to make all economies fully open for free inter-penetration and inter-state access.

Issues relating to the forces of economic liberalisation are generally more complicated than and not as obvious as in technology. In pursuit of economic liberalisation, the global system is polarised into various groups. In one group are the industrialised (G8) countries that work intimately with the world financial (IMF, World Bank) and Trade (WTO) institutions, and pursue a broad and ambitious agenda that attempt to build international capitalism on the foundations of open world trade and capital flows, privatisation, balanced budget, freeing up of exchange controls and similar deregulation and liberalisation measures.

In another group are the 'Asian-Tigers' who have, through economic liberalisation process, achieved unprecedented growth in their fragile economies. The countries, in addition to economic liberalisation, have used other policy instruments to expand Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and attain higher economic growth. These include developing a strong production base; opening up of new investment areas; as well as designing and implementing sound macro-economic policies. They have also created conducive climate and stable political and economic environment to attract foreign investments. These policy measures have enhanced the expansion of FDI in the countries, and led to their rapid growth and development.

It can therefore be rightly concluded that no country in contemporary world can really be an island unto itself, either due to its vibrant economic strength e.g. United States or because it decides to close its doors to the outside world like China successfully did in the past. The critical message of globalisation in this context is that in the existing moment of integration of global markets, Nigeria and other developing nations have little choice but to join the globalisation train despite their disadvantaged position in the process.

A strong and virile economy would depend on the ability of each region to manage its resources. It is not just enough to build an economy by receiving loans and grants, but it needs political and moral will to create and establish a new international economic order on the basis of equal economic participation and equitable distribution of world resources. The most disappointing economic performance in the last three decades of the twentieth century points to the fact that an alternative approach to world economic problem need be sought, especially one that will correct the imbalance in the international economic order. The practice by the advanced economies to impose orthodox economic system on the rest of the world has shown inherent problems of crisis generation and political instability.

The recipe for solving the economic problem is better management of the international economy by the industrialised countries which would enable the developing countries build their economy on a sound footing. There is also the need to integrate the various regions of the world, with regard to the global process of transition, into a New World Economic Order for the international economic system. Although, this is the typical neo-liberal prescription for economic growth, it could be argued that the proper management of economic fundamentals has a multiplier effect on the system.

3.2 Perspectives on Economic Globalisation

The 21st century is expected to usher in full capitalism that ensures international cooperation based on free market system and democracy. The problem of capitalism in the international economic system is the dominance of the industrialised powers and their multi-national corporations, which control world resources, through the monopolisation of international trade. While the interdependence school of thought on capitalism claims that interdependence is the reality of globalisation and that it constitutes a positive development in world affairs, scholars who view globalisation as imperialism insist that the phenomenon as it is today represents nothing but capitalism and imperialism, that is what Ali Mazrui refers to as “the new global imperialism” (Akinboye, 2008).

Scholars that allude to the same position have proclaimed that globalisation is a transformatory capitalist project, which can only serve to impoverish the underdeveloped nations on the fringe of the world capitalism. Claude Ake, for instance, sees globalisation as a capitalist project that is structured to perpetuate the underdevelopment of Africa and other developing countries. He construed globalisation in terms of profit maximisation, and perceptively referred to it as the march of capital across the world, in search of profits; a process that is facilitated

by the expansion of multinational corporations, and driven by the technical advances in communication. Accordingly, Ake contends that: Globalisation is about growing structural differentiation and functional integration in world economy; it is about growing interdependence across the globes, it is about the nation-state coming from under pressure from the surge of transnational phenomenon; about the emergence of a global mass culture driven by mass advertising and technical advances in mass communication. This correlates with Madunagu's allusion that globalisation is the rapid expansion of capitalism. According to Madunagu: The rapid expansion, through giant multinational companies, of capitalism to several areas of the world, including areas where it had hitherto been resisted or put in check side by side with this expansion, is the phenomenal development of computer technology, telecommunication and transportation.

The latter serve as the main vehicle of the former. Globalisation is globalisation of capitalism, not the globalisation of a "neutral" economic system or globalisation of post-capitalism as the imperial intellectuals and their slaves in the underdeveloped countries would have us believe. In the final analysis, Nabudere provides a critical summary of the globalisation phenomenon thus: globalisation is a capitalist economic project that is propelled by two contradictory movements – first, the tendency of economic globalisation to create uniformities in the entire world; and second, the tendency of marginalisation and fragmentation, which the phenomenon connotes. These two processes make it possible for globalisation to spread out its risk and losses throughout the global arena. However, we view the incidence of economic globalisation the reality dictates that the third-world countries are drawn in to the globalisation entanglements, not on their terms, thus further enlarging the inequalities that exist in the world. The scenario puts the advanced and developed economies at the centre of global economy relations, while the developing world remains at the periphery without the wherewithal to significantly impact on the direction of international economic pendulum.

3.3 North-South Divide

The idea of categorising countries by their economic and developmental status began during the Cold War with the classifications of East and West. The Soviet Union and China represented the developing East, and the United States and their allies represented the more developed West. Out of this paradigm of development surged the division of the First World [the West] and the Second World [the East] with the even less developed countries constituting the Third World. As some Second World countries joined the First World, and others joined the Third World, a new and simpler classification was needed. The First World

became the “North” and the Third World became the “South”. This apart, it is important that the people of the “South” desist from using the word “Third World”, which is defeatist in connotation, to using the word developing, which is a more positive word.

In recent years, the obvious response to globalisation is through the pursuit of economic integration carried out by regional organisations like the G-77, the European Union, the North America Free Trade Agreement, ECOWAS, etc. There is however a strong argument against globalisation in relation to regional economic integration. Pointedly, the industrialised nations of the North are in economic contest with the developing nations of the South that have vehemently challenged the idea and processes of globalisation. The point to be established here is that the political and economic dimensions of capitalist ideology can only be understood from the high level of political violence in the South, while the trade in minerals and agricultural raw materials has reached the height under the existing free trade regime of the World Trade Organisation.

The North–South divide is a socio-economic and political division that exists between the wealthy developed countries, known collectively as “the north”, and the poorer developing countries (least developed countries), or “the south”. Although most nations comprising the “North” are in fact located in the Northern Hemisphere (with the notable exceptions of Australia and New Zealand), the divide is not wholly defined by geography. The North is home to four of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all members of the G8. “The North” mostly covers the West and the First World, with much of the Second World. As nations become economically developed, they may become part of the “North”, regardless of geographical location, while any other nations which do not qualify for “developed” status are in effect deemed to be part of the South. Being categorised as part of the “North” implies development as opposed to belonging to the “South” which implies a lack thereof. The North becomes synonymous with economic development and industrialisation while the South represents the previously colonised countries which are in need of help in the form of international aid agendas. Therefore, the use of the terms North-South, developed and third-world here assumed an ideological connotation of superior and inferior and should be debunked.

Factors responsible for the North-South divide and ultimately to inequality are the capitalist ideology which relies on the constant motivation to produce capital accumulation. The nature of capitalism leads those countries with a comparative advantage (developed) to accumulate capital through dispossession or in other words to take capital from those less advantaged (un-developed/developing). This

accumulation by dispossession leads to the unequal development that feeds the north-south divide.

Globalisation or Global Capitalism, as the leading cause for global inequality, enhances social and economic gaps between countries, since it requires economies and societies to adapt in a very rapid manner, and because this almost never happens in an equal fashion, some nations grow faster than others. Rich countries exploit poorer countries to a point where developing countries become dependent on developed countries for survival. The very structure and process of globalisation perpetuates and reproduces unequal relationships and opportunities between the North and the South. Some would argue that free international trade and unhindered capital flows across countries will lead to a contraction in the North-South divide. In this case more equal trade and flow of capital would allow the possibility for developing countries to further develop economically. As some countries in the South experience rapid development, there is some evidence that those states are developing high levels of South-South aid. The United Nations has also established its role in diminishing the divide between North and South through its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These goals seek to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development by the year 2015.

3.4 Global Economic Coalition

The integration of the world economy and the trading system has been enhanced by the forces of satellite technology and electronic communication. Financial markets, financial transactions and international financial institutions are in a grand coalition determined to move resources from regions of low returns to regions of high profit. Furthermore, the increasing integration of international trade and finance inevitably entails the localisation of international system.

The economic imperative of the abysmal performance of the developing world is traceable to the wholesale embrace of capitalism and free market economy as the dominant mode of production. A review of the activities of the international economic system actors shows a prevailing pattern of interdependence and mutual dependence. However, while the developing countries are engrossed with the export of mineral resources for the importation of finished goods from the industrialised nations, the West continues to deepen poverty in these areas by moving productive resources to the metropolis.

Developing country coalitions in the multilateral trading system are not new, but they have evolved significantly. The Group of 77 (G77) developing countries has operated in the international trade arena since the 1960s. Along with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), it has played a particularly significant role in UNCTAD, and has made periodic political statements on WTO matters. One of the first WTO-specific negotiating coalitions of developing countries was the Informal Group of Developing Countries (IGDC), which was formed by a sub-set of developing countries in the lead up to the launch of the Uruguay Round, and became the G-10 in 1982. The Doha Round of WTO negotiations have been notable for the greater use of coalitions by WTO Members than in earlier GATT Rounds. Moreover, developing countries now lead and participate in a greater number of these coalitions than in earlier GATT negotiation processes.

Optimists argue that the rise of coalitions, and of several large emerging developing countries at the centre of WTO decision-making, is attenuating the asymmetries of power in WTO negotiations. Certainly, the stalemate in Doha negotiations was partly a reflection of the impact that developing countries and their coalitions exerted on the process and the outcomes of WTO negotiations. However, more sceptical analysts argue that while the efforts of developing country coalitions have altered the 'atmospherics' of trade negotiations, for many of the poorest and weakest countries they have diminished the appearance but not the reality, of exclusion from the process. Collective bargaining through coalitions, alliances or regional groups is a key mechanism that countries can use to influence outcomes in multilateral trade negotiations.

The academic literature on collective bargaining yields a useful set of categories to differentiate among the spectrum of collaborations among countries in multilateral trade arena. According to Birkbeck & Harbourd (2011), in terms of composition, there are at least three kinds of groupings among countries in the WTO context:

- a. Issue-Based Coalitions (e.g., the G-20, the G-33, the NAMA-11), the Core Group on Trade Facilitation;
- b. Characteristic-Based Groups, such as groups of countries with similar levels of development or weight in world trade (e.g., the Least Developed Countries (LDC) Group, the Small Vulnerable Economies (SVE) Group, and the G-77/China);
- c. Region-Based Groupings (e.g., the African Group, the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) Group, the Group of Latin American countries (GRULAC)); and

- d. Combined Groupings of developed and developing countries (e.g., the Cairns Group and the Friends of Fish).

The purpose of coalitions varies considerably. Some groups focus on advocacy and lobbying on broad political priorities, whereas others are targeted negotiating groups keen to advance deal-making on specific topics. Some groups are single-issue coalitions whereas others advance a broad set of priorities and political perspectives. Some groups form to respond to a specific threat and dissolve after a certain period. Historically, many developing country coalitions have pursued 'distributive' negotiating strategies (where the focus is getting or protecting the largest possible segment of a given 'pie' of potential trade benefits). More recently, there are cases where a more 'integrative' approach is being explored (e.g., where the focus is on collaborating to explore possibilities to increase the overall size of the pie and to find solutions that yield improvements for all parties).

The dynamics of International Economic Relations continuously give rise to new emerging regulatory arrangements (the Kyoto Protocol, the Global Compact and the Fair Labour Association), that seek to address the environmental constraints of unrestricted consumption. Global capital and economic coalition was initiated by the Allied partners during the negotiations leading to the establishment of the United Nations Organisations in 1944. That economic coalition was established by the western powers as constituted in the proposed membership of the Security Council. Pointedly, the fruit of the global economic coalition is found in the establishment of the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organisation and other international finance corporation agencies that deny market and financial access to the developing nations of the 'South' through stringent monetary requirements.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit we have learnt that the United Nations agencies, especially the World Bank and the IMF are not necessarily true agents of development and hence, a clog in the wheel of development. The structural inequalities in these institutions have put the developing countries in a more disadvantaged position and further impaired their debt ridden development model.

5.0 SUMMARY

Small and poor developing countries face well-known structural constraints and power asymmetries in their international economic relations. Their limited economic weight often produces pessimism about the prospects for such countries to international trade negotiations.

For many developing countries, participation in coalitions with other developing countries as well as in groupings and alliances with developed countries is an increasingly popular strategy for boosting their influence. A core preoccupation of those keen to ensure greater fairness in the multilateral trading system is the representation of small, weak and poor countries in WTO negotiations and in ensuring their participation in the WTO system generate concrete benefits for them.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Explain the nature and dynamics of capitalism as the dominant economic ideology.
- ii. What are the differences in the composition of global trade that promotes dependency?

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UNIT 3 INTERNATIONAL LAW

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Character of International Law
 - 3.2 The Sources of International Law
 - 3.3 Subjects of International Law
 - 3.4 Distinctions between International Law and Municipal Law
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Most nations are said to comply with International Law, but that appears questionable considering the number of human rights violations still occurring around the world. While the international community does attempt to hold all nations to International Law, it is not always feasible. Despite this reality, and in the absence of a world government in the real sense, there is yet the need for the existence of mechanisms that would give the world a semblance of law and order. This justifies our previous opinion that the international system is not necessarily orderly. This unit would treat all the issues related to the institutional processes of international law as this relates to the international system.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- describe the sources of international law
- list the features of international law
- explain the basis for the existence of international treaties and agreements
- distinguish between international law and municipal law.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Character of International Law

It could be argued that the first instrument of modern public international law was the 'Lieber Code', passed in 1863 by the Congress of the United States, to govern the conduct of US Forces during the

United States Civil War and considered to be the first written recitation of the rules and articles of war, adhered to by all civilised nations; the precursor of public international law. In the years that followed, other states subscribed to limitations of their conduct, and numerous other treaties and bodies were created to regulate the conduct of states towards one another in terms of these treaties, including, but not limited to, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 1899; the Hague and Geneva Conventions, the first of which was passed in 1907; the International Court of Justice in 1921; the Genocide Convention; and the International Criminal Court, in the late 1990s. Because international law is a relatively new area of law its development and propriety in applicable areas are often subject to dispute.

International law is developed and agreed upon by those that make up the international system, but not every nation state is a member or has a part in the process.

Due to the diverse legal systems and applicable histories of different countries, laws addressing international law include both common law (case law) and civil law (statutes created by governing bodies). Their application covers all the facets of national law, to include substantive law, procedure, and remedies. Although there is no definitive governing body overseeing international law, the United Nations is the most widely recognised and influential international organisation and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) is its judicial counterpart.

There are three main legal principles recognised in much of international law, which are not required, but are based chiefly on courtesy and respect:

1. **The principle of comity** - in the instance where two nations share common public policy ideas, one of them submits to the laws and judicial decrees of the other. International law is the body of legal rules which apply between states and such other nations that have been granted international personality. It is seen as a body of rules that have been accepted by civilised nations as being binding in their relations with one another.
2. **Act of state doctrine** - respects a nation as sovereign in its own territory and its official domestic actions may not be questioned by the judicial bodies of another country. It dissuades courts from deciding cases that would interfere with a country's foreign policy.
3. **Doctrine of sovereign immunity** - deals with actions brought in the court of one nation against another foreign nation and prevents the sovereign state from being tried in court without its consent. To

be determined a sovereign state; a nation must run its own government, with its own territory and population.

There are two basic categories of International Law; Public International Law and Private International Law. Public International Law covers the rules, laws and customs that govern and monitor the conduct and dealings between nations and/or their citizens. The UN deals largely with public international law, which defines the relationships between different nations or between a nation and persons from another country. It assumes that whenever a law has been accepted, it establishes mutual rights and obligations. Public international law concerns the structure and conduct of sovereign states; analogous entities, such as the Holy See; and intergovernmental organisations. To a lesser degree, international law also may affect multinational corporations and individuals, an impact increasingly evolving beyond domestic legal interpretation and enforcement. Public international law has increased in use and importance vastly over the 20th century, due to the increase in global trade, environmental deterioration on a worldwide scale, awareness of human rights violations, rapid and vast increases in international transportation and a boom in global communications.

Private international law generally deals with individual concerns, such as civil or human rights issues, not only between a government and its own citizens but also in how its citizens are treated by other nations. Private international law basically handles disputes between private citizens of different nations.

Throughout the long history of international law, States were the only actors in international relations. The norms of contemporary international law continue to govern mainly the relationship between states and the relations of states with international organisations and other international institutions constantly interacting with each other. Whenever a law has been accepted, it establishes mutual rights and obligations. International law is influenced by international politics, and the forces of international law are not the sense of justice, nor the sense of right, but the fact that nations accept to be bound by these laws. In particular, international courts and international arbitration, investigation, conciliation and other commissions, which are created by agreement between the states and are guided in their activities by international legal regulations, especially rules of general international law. Some of these international bodies, such as the International Court of Justice, are a body of universal character, since they create an international community of states and access to them is open to countries.

Generally international law consists of rules and principles of general application dealing with the conduct of states and of intergovernmental organisations and with their relations, as well as with some of their relations with persons, whether natural or juridical.

3.2 Sources of International Law

International law is the rules and regulations in form of behavioural norms and ethical codes that regulate the conduct of man in an organic society, and also on the international scene. Sources of international law are the materials and processes out of which the rules and principles regulating the international community are developed. They have been influenced by a range of political and legal theories. The idea of international organisation was new and alien to the Romans, although Rome contributed immensely to the development of international law. Hence, modern international law originates essentially as a result of the urgency of human survival in the mid 20th century. Humanitarian considerations are the inspirational basis of rules of international law, because the primary need of our time is to control the environment for the benefit of man. The basic fundamental premise of modern international law as expressed under the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), where the empire and the church were dissolved into nation-states, is: sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality of nations, and non-interference in the affairs of nations. These principles formed the basis of international law and were re-emphasised at the Treaty of Utrecht 1713. In the American and French Revolutions of 1776 and 1789 respectively, these ideas of neutrality in cases of boundary clashes between nations were settled using the principles laid down in the Roman law.

The factors that stimulated the growth of international law include: industrial revolution, development of trade and the emancipation of nation-states, all of which created huge demands for raw materials, and market access, thereby bringing about persistent clashes. Hence, international law was negotiated and established to regulate trade activities, and provide a congenial atmosphere for the trade to flourish among the European nations.

Article 38 (1) of the 1946 Statute of the International Court of Justice is generally recognised as a definitive statement of the sources of international law. It requires the court to apply among other things:

- a. International conventions expressly recognised by the contesting states, and
- b. International custom, as evidence of a general practice of law.

Other sources of public international law are:

- c. International treaties,
- d. Custom,
- e. General principles of law,
- f. Judicial decisions and teachings;
- g. Juristic writings;
- h. Resolutions of the Security Council and the general assembly.

3.3 Subjects of International Law

Traditionally, sovereign states and the Holy See were the sole subjects of international law. From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) till the creation of the United Nations system, it was considered that the 'State' was the sole subject of international law: that international law only applied as between States. States, as the subjects of international law had international personality which meant that they had the right to have their claims respected internationally. With the proliferation of international organisations over the last century, they have in some cases been recognised as relevant parties as well, as recent interpretations of international human rights law and international trade law have been inclusive of corporations, and even of certain individuals.

The international court of justice, in its 'Reparations of Injuries Advisory Opinion' 1949, confirmed that other entities could be subjects of international law. Though it made plain that while sovereign states possess all the rights and duties on the international plane, that other entities such as inter-governmental organisations, as well as the individual, and multi-national corporations, might possess rights and duties which states would ascribe to them.

The state

Reference is ordinarily made to Article 1 of the 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and duties of states as being indicative of the criteria required to be established as a state in international law. The state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications:

- a permanent population;
- a defined territory;
- government; and
- a capacity to enter into relations with the other states.

Inter-governmental organisations

Inter-Governmental Organisations are entities that are constituted by states, have states as their members and are based on a constitutive treaty. In the 1949 *Reparations of Injuries* case, the International Court

of Justice recognised that the United Nations (like other IGOs) has 'functional personality' that is: legal personality to the extent required to carry out the tasks which states have assigned to it.

The individual

As a subject of international law, the individual has both rights and obligations. Rights are manifest in international human rights law, while obligations are generally encompassed within international criminal law.

The Holy See

This focuses on the role and position of the Pope in international law, and international relations in general. The international legal personality of the Holy See and by extension being a subject of international law is predicated upon the fact that the Pope, as spiritual head of the Catholic Church and the Vatican City has maintained international relations with states for the protection and promotion of the interests of the Catholic Church and the spiritual values upon which it is founded. States enter into concordant, specifically treaties with the Holy See, which makes it for the states to receive accredited diplomatic representatives. This is an aspect of the international legal personality of the Holy See. In this respect, the Holy See can sue and be sued.

3.4 Distinction between International Law and Municipal Law

Public international law establishes the framework and the criteria for identifying states as the principal actors in the international legal system. As the existence of a state presupposes control and jurisdiction over territory, international law deals with the acquisition of territory, state immunity and the legal responsibility of states in their conduct with each other. International law is similarly concerned with the treatment of individuals within state boundaries. There is thus a comprehensive regime dealing with group rights, the treatment of aliens, the rights of refugees, international crimes, nationality problems, and human rights generally.

The principal feature of municipal law is the existence of a legislature and a court system that can settle legal disputes and enforce the law. At the international level, however, there is no legislature in existence and it is by way of agreements between countries (treaties) that international law is made. This can also be described in the following way: Municipal law is *hierarchical* or *vertical* - the legislature is in a position of supremacy and enacts binding legislation, while International law is *horizontal* - all states are sovereign and equal.

As a result of the notion of sovereignty, the value and authority of international law is dependent upon the voluntary participation of states in its formulation, observance, and enforcement. Although there may be exceptions, it is thought by many international academics that most states enter into legal commitments with other states out of enlightened self-interest rather than adherence to a body of law that is higher than their own.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is obvious that the debate on the chaotic and disorderliness or otherwise of the international system still holds currency. While there are theoretical views to the effect that the international system is chaotic and disorderly in the absence of a world government that could act as regulator in the relationship between and among subjects of international law; states and non-state actors included. This has been the case since the beginning of the inter-state system and the efforts that have been made have not in any way changed the position of the realists that the contemporary inter-state system is anarchic and chaotic without standard rules and behaviour. This position is held despite the creation and existence of several mechanisms that could bring states and non-state actors to book. According to the realists, being subjects of international law does not compel a state to obey rules and regulations imposed by international law or treaties. Reference is often made to the judgment passed on the Sudanese president by the International Court of Justice at The Hague, which is still disobeyed with reckless abandon. First is the fact that there is no international police authority that is mandated to arrest such personality, and rather for other states to isolate Sudan on the basis of the judgment passed on the president, other states carry on their relationship with Sudan like no issues have occurred. On the other side of the spectrum, the idealists argue that the moral burden imposed by the existence of international law curtails states from acting arbitrarily. Because of the possibility of condemnation by other actors, states are therefore wont to act according to stated international rules and regulations, as long as their sovereignty is not affected.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, this unit captures the limitations of states in respect of their relationships with one-another and in fact, with other non-state actors. It is suggested that despite the quest for the realisation of national purpose, as enshrined in the principles and objectives of national interest, states are limited and hindered to the extent that they would not violate the sovereignty of other states, or go against the rules and regulations that bind actors in the international system. Though different from municipal

law, and perhaps not as effective as municipal law, international law remains law.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Explain two of the sources of international law.
- ii. Is international law really law?
- iii. What are the instruments for obeying international law?

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UNIT 4 INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

CONTENTS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Understanding the dynamics of the international system requires an appreciation of the workings of the international organisations, on whose platform state actors present their activities. Hence the shift is made in the approach to the study of the international politics that emphasise international organisations, thereby relegating the state-centric view to the background. This only validates the position that the study of the international system consist of states interacting with international organisations and other non-governmental actors. Hence, international organisations are inter-governmental organisations in global terms, drawing their membership from every region of the world. This unit would introduce us to the workings of international organisations, thereby showcasing their importance in the whole gamut of international relations. Invariably, the activities of international organisations have implications for world peace and security.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the distinctive characteristics of the various types of international organisations
- explain the general framework for the workings of international organisations
- list the importance of international organisations in international relations

- describe the linkage between international organisations and international peace and security.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Evolution of International Organisation

The historical evolution of international organisations dates back to the 19th century while the 20th century is described as the period for the proliferation of global and regional organisations. The Congress of Westphalia of 1648 was a significant milestone in the development of international organisation, as it also marked the evolution of the state system. In the 19th century, diplomacy was the traditional medium through which international affairs were conducted, especially during the concert of Europe, where states met to debate political issues of mutual interest, based on the awareness of interdependence.

One of the most significant developments in the latter half of the 19th century was the emergence of a multitude of international administrative agencies or public international unions, in response to the growing need for cooperation in resolving economic and social problems requiring coordinated action. Among the international organisations that were set up were the European Commission for the Danube (1806); the International Bureau of Telegraphic Administrations (1868); the Universal Postal Union (1875); the International Bureau of Weights and Measures (1875); among others.

Another important evolutionary trend of international organisations was the Hague system of international conferences. This provided the platform for international negotiation and led to a more realistic definition of 'community of states'. An attempt was then made to institutionalise the international relations process of settling international disputes with the establishment of agencies, like the 'Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes adopted in 1899. This brought about the appointment of ad-hoc commission of inquiry, and for the creation of a permanent court of arbitration. The Hague system, the Council of Europe and the Public International Unions attested to the potential value of international organisations as instruments of world peace, through the institutionalised procedures and crisis management in the conduct of international relations.

However, the formalised phase in the evolution of international organisations began with the establishment of the 'League of Nations' and later the 'United Nations Organisation'. The League of Nations was designed to provide an institution through which its members, acting collectively, might identify threats to world peace and take measures

such as sanctions and even military action to stop an aggressor. The United Nations Organisation, coming on the failure of the League of Nations is committed to maintaining international peace and security. Attempts to end the war and discussions on post-war policy led to a series of conferences and declarations; among which was the Moscow Declaration, which proclaimed the need to establish a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all states, for the maintenance of international peace and security. In furtherance of the objective for countries of the world to join in the building of international peace and security, forty-four states met in Bretton-Woods, USA where two international financial organisations known as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), were established.

On August 21, 1944 a meeting of the great powers –USSR, Britain, USA and China was held at Dumbarton Oaks in the U.S.A. to draw up proposals for a general international organisation, leading to agreements concerning the establishment of the United Nations. On October 24, 1945 all the big powers had ratified the charter to bring the international organisation which now stands at about 193 member-states, into effect.

3.2 Characteristics of International Organisations

Common but basic features of international organisations that are embedded in the discussion above are as follows:

- a. Global intergovernmental organisations are established by means of an agreement between two or more states.
- b. The states involved decide to surrender part of their sovereignty to the international organisation.
- c. Consensus, recommendation, and cooperation inform state action, rather than enforcement.
- d. International organisations are composed of sovereign, independent states voluntarily joining in a common pursuit of certain goals;
- e. International organisations establish certain organs that are assigned special duties.
- f. The administrative headquarters which is termed the secretariat, performs the executive functions through the secretary-general and world-class civil servants.
- g. International organisations do not possess a legislative body that has power to make laws.
- h. Legislative functions are carried out through conferences, like the summit of the UNO.

- i. The actors that shape the activities of international organisations determine the type of decisions and whose interest such decisions are designed to serve.
- j. Officials of government act under the influence of their respective governments, based on specific foreign policy objectives.
- k. Members to the conferences are selected as representatives of government officials who agree or disagree on the decisions taken at the conference as a reflection of the official position of their governments.
- l. Decision-making at the conference is governed by the democratic principles of majority rule and equal voting right.
- m. Some international organisations, possessing compulsory jurisdiction over disputes between states, have institutions with legal or quasi-legal powers.
- n. In the settlement of disputes, international organisations employ methods of negotiation, enquiry, mediation, and conciliation.
- o. Permanent Secretariat is occupied by members of the organisation from different nationalities, chosen to serve the organisation regardless of their nationality.
- p. International organisations possess features such as membership.
- q. International organisations have formal structures that are continuous and are established by means of an agreement such as a treaty.

3.3 Typologies of International Organisations

International organisations can be classified according to membership; aims, functions and Structure. Accordingly, we have universal global organisations; regional organisations; sub-regional organisations, alliances and pluralistic organisations, as well as political groupings.

a. Universal organisations

A global organisation in which all or almost all the states in the world are members; for example, the United Nations Organisation. This is a multi-purpose global organisation which operates in various facets: security, social, economic, cultural and educational and scientific exchange. There are also single-purpose or functional global organisations, specialised intergovernmental organisations like the International Labour Organisation, World Health Organisation, International Monetary Fund, Food and Agricultural Organisation, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, etc.

b. Regional organisations

In the international system, there is a trend for nation-states to form regional groupings, embracing the territory of a few states. Regional organisations make themselves jointly responsible for the peaceful

settlement of disputes which may arise among themselves; and for the maintenance of peace and security in their respective regions. Regional organisations like the African Union and the European Union are formed with the objective of safeguarding their interests and the development of their economic and cultural relations.

Regional organisations are arrangements which are voluntary association of sovereign states within a certain area. Regional organisations exist for the purpose of taking joint action in the event of any threat to their economic, social and political security.

There are two major recurrent patterns of regional organisations – the hegemonial one in which a great power serves as a nucleus around which the lesser powers cluster either to seek protection of their bigger enemies or the protector. The other is the political units with less pronounced disparities of power, which unite against a common danger. Among the regional organisations operating in the international system are the organisation of American States (OAS) 1890; African Union (AU); the Arab League; the European Union, etc.

c. Economic groupings

These are regional institutions like the Economic Community of Western States –ECOWAS; and the Southern African Development Commission-SADC, organised for the purpose of bringing rapid economic development to member-states. Economic integration has given much impetus to the formation of regional arrangements that proceed from bilateral mutual assistance among states, which gradually developed into a broader political organisation. This tendency toward international regionalism is an acknowledged feature of contemporary international system. Economic groupings also include cartels like the organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) which exist to protect the interest of its members in the global system.

The ECOWAS which came into existence in 1975 is primarily concerned with the sub-regional economic integration, for economic growth and development of the sub-region. Through the establishment of an institutional framework for the formation of contemporary economic regional bodies in the North, East and South Africa, the concept of an African common market could be realised after the merger of the various sub-regional blocks.

Economic groupings enhance economic integration and address the protectionist practices necessitated for the protection of infant industries. According to article 2 of the Treaty of Lagos; the aim of the ECOWAS shall be to promote cooperation and development in all fields of economic activities particularly in the fields of industry, transport,

energy, agriculture, etc for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people, increase and maintain economic stability, and foster closer relations among its members. According to the Treaty of ECOWAS, some of the aims and objectives include the following:

1. The aims of the community are to promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent.
2. In order to achieve the aims set out in the paragraph above, and in accordance with the relevant provisions of this treaty, the community shall, by stages, ensure that:
 - a. the harmonisation and co-ordination of national policies and the promotion of integration programmes, projects and activities, particularly in food, agriculture and natural resources, industry, transport and communications, energy, trade, money and finance, taxation, economic reform policies, human resources, education, information, culture, science, technology, services, health, tourism, legal matters.
 - b. the harmonisation and co-ordination of policies for the protection of the environment
 - c. the promotion of the establishment of joint production enterprises
 - d. the establishment of a common market through
 - i. the liberalisation of trade by the abolition, among member states, of customs duties levied on imports and exports, and the abolition among Member States, of non-tariff barriers in order to establish a free trade area at the community level
 - ii. the adoption of a common external tariff and a common trade policy vis-à-vis third countries
 - iii. the removal, between member states, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, service and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment
 - e. the establishment of an economic union through the adoption of common policies in the economic, financial social and cultural sectors, and the creation of a monetary union
 - f. the promotion of joint ventures by private sectors enterprises and other economic operators, in particular through the adoption of a regional agreement on cross-border investments.

d. Political groupings

Political groups like the organisation of African Unity (the African Union), were formed to face the challenges of colonialism, exploitation, and imperialism. The objectives of political groupings are to achieve greater unity and solidarity between the member countries and the peoples; accelerate rapid political and socio-economic integration; promote peace, security, democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.

4.0 CONCLUSION

International organisations, whether at regional or global levels, or concerned with specific objectives or generally broad objectives are one of the critical non-state actors in the system. Their actions both influence and are influenced by the actions of states. Instructively, the tendency is for nation-states to employ international organisations to sanction and influence member states, in order to bring their actions in line with globally accepted practices.

5.0 SUMMARY

The emergence of a mass of international administrative organisations in response to the growing need for interdependence fostered by the information and technology revolution necessitates the resolution of economic and social problems using coordinated action. International organisations are a group of multi-faceted and purposeful institutions possessing high calibre financial and human resources and imbued with state power to effect the decisions of the global community holistically or within regional blocs. It is noted that their activities and operations encompass the social, economic, political, and military dimensions. International organisations are becoming even more relevant in the present age of globalisation and hi-tech based conflicts.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Differentiate between international and regional organisations.
- ii. Assess the performance of the UN in guaranteeing global peace and security.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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See: Treaty of ECOWAS. <http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php>.

MODULE 2

Unit 1	Integration Theory
Unit 2	System Theory
Unit 3	Balance-of-Power Theory
Unit 4	Power Theory

UNIT 1 INTEGRATION THEORY

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Integration theory is one of the major approaches to the study of international relations. Within the realm of this theory, there are models that lay the basis for cooperation and collaborations among states. All of these approaches would be thoroughly treated in the unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the integration theory
- analyse the approaches of integration theory
- explain the concepts within the approaches, such as ‘spill-over’.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

Integration theory is one of the major approaches of studying international relations. A lot of scholars have shared their views on the meaning of integration theory giving plethora of analyses, but what seems to be generally accepted by all scholars is that integration is the process of merging hitherto isolated parts into a formidable whole, in order to make the newly found co-operations meet the lapses and fill the

lacuna brought about by being isolated. This thereby brings about a co-operative understanding among the component units which enables each to unite to make available to others in the group, its strength, for instance, technology, market, labour, natural resources etc. and be able to tap from other groups to fill its weaknesses, for instance, lack of market, manpower, technology etc. thereby creating opportunities for itself that may not have been possible if it stands alone, and such integration goes a long way in helping it to combat what would have originally threatened its existence.

Nations can no longer pretend to enjoy the luxury of isolation, most especially newly formed states. It is a natural phenomenon to want to belong, because the advantages of integration are too numerous to mention, compared to what a nation stands to lose, if it chooses to be in isolation. Integration is an essential aspect of an interdependent world. Integration tends to favour neighbouring states, that is, nations that share the same geographical location, because of the relative advantage of proximity. Having the same border gives a feeling of neighbourliness; goods and services are easily transferred and the union is more formidable as a result of the nearness to one another.

Some of the advantages that nations enjoy as a result of co-operation with other nations is that, it gives their leaders enormous opportunity to focus on their national government, since their co-operation with other states create understanding which ultimately prevents such nation from going into conflict with one another. In essence, when nations are not having friction with one another, their leaders have enough time to focus on their primary aims within their nation since they are at peace with foreign nation.

The following approaches to integration will be examined

- Functionalism
- Neo-functionalism
- Federalist

3.1 Functionalism

Functionalism or the functionalist approach in international relations originated as a result of the experience of the war of the 1930s, making it one of the oldest schools of thought on integration. This approach developed majorly because of the fear of obsolescence of the state as a form of social integration and to establish new ways of achieving an international system of orderliness, which lead to peace and provision of welfare.

Functionalism is associated with the work of David Mitrany, a US political scientist. For him it represents a theory of interstate co-operation, that is, the explanation for co-operation among states is to identify common solution to huge problems of the international system. Functionalists hold that co-operation is organised on the principle of “form follows function” (Rosamond, 2000). For functionalist economic integration most precede the political one.

The role of elites in this integration process cannot be overemphasised. Functionalism is applauded for trying to replace territorial units with functional ones that will meet the needs of providing security and welfare to the units involved in the integration. For functionalists, integration is a process with no end-point, and it also laid the foundation for neo-functionalism.

From David Mitrany’s thesis, Europe was a witnessing crisis, and there was a need to foster integration. Functionalist writers captured the spirit of functionalism when they predicted that the coming together of France and Germany to form the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) will create a precondition for a peaceful post war co-existence. This approach established that between France and Germany, trust is inevitable, for the integration of state with similar institutions will ultimately lead to co-operation and security.

Scholars like Immanuel Wallenstein have also used the concept of functionalism, as he described the theory ‘functionalist’ as a function of the preferences of a system and not the preference of an agent. From the above, it can be deduced that integration develops its own internal dynamics, which further improves the relations among parties involved to encourage more co-operation in other areas.

With the functionalist approach, scholars have been able to give importance/value to regional integration at the expense of state or government, this does not mean that the state as an actor in the international system will be excluded, as a matter of fact, this would indeed prove erroneous.

It must be mentioned that functionalism provides a reliable alternative to realistic approach of studying international relations. Realism happens to be the dominant theoretical approach for understanding international relationship, but functionalism can constructively and adequately challenge the realist concept of co-operation. Rather than the self interest that realists see as a motivating factor for integration in the international system, functionalists focus on common interest shared by states.

3.2 Neo-Functionalism

Neo-functionalism was developed in the mid 1950s by American scholars who first tried to theorise the new forms of regional co-operation in the wake of World War II. This approach mainly concerns itself with the process rather than the end results. Under this approach, we talk about concepts like 'spill-over', 'spill-back' etc. Some theorists view neo-functionalism as the "authoritative version of European integration", reasons for this assumption will be revealed as we progress.

Neo-functionalism is deemed the most sophisticated and the most complex of all theories on integration; it is theoretically grounded with ideas on gradual integration process, making it a very difficult theory to simplify for easy understanding. These complexities and sophistication could be attributed to the simple reason that this theory takes this dimension because it is one theory that combines federalist and functionalist theory into a single whole to give a concrete and well refined, sophisticated but yet very interesting approach to the study of integration in international relations.

Some notable neo-functionalists include Ernest, B. Haas and J.S Nye. Haas was of the opinion that the entire politics bring along loyalties, expectation and political activities towards a new centre whose institutions exercise or request the jurisdiction over pre-existing national state. The final outcome of this process of political integration is represented by a new political community, over imposed on the pre-existing ones. Haas further talked about the interaction between political actors, whereby after the integration process has begun, member states are prepared to limit their sovereignty by transferring some competencies to the supranational level (Haas, 1964).

The neo-functionalists approaches are a strategy and at the same time a theory of integration. In the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in the early 1950s, neo-functionalism was the prevailing strategy for the integration and subsequently that of EURATOM and EEC. According to this theory, the idea of integration in one area can inspire integration in another, creating a domino effect due to its functionality in certain areas. This is adequately explained using the spill-over effect. More to this theory is the fact that, as a result of its functionality, it will propel elite to buy into the idea, and thereby become the key agents of selling the idea to the larger population, more so contributing to an expansion of the integration. From the above we can conclude that neo-functionalism leads to the establishment of supranational regional organisation, through the gradual implementation of policies that divert loyalty to a new centre, more so the feedback loop

between the newly established centre will become stronger, while that which exist between the state and the society will be weakened.

Spill-over could be made possible by actors and it could also be automatic, due to its capacity of what neo-functionalists call an “internal expansive logic”. This shows that there are two kinds of spill-over which are:

- a. **Functional spill-over:-** The functional spill-over is made possible as a result of integration in certain policy areas, which create or lead to the initiation of another policy in another areas.
- b. **Political spill-over:-** The political spill-over is the voluntary creation of supranational organisational to make available certain positive advantages.

In the process of spill-over, linkages could be made possible by external factors, as well as competition among political elite who try to jostle for recognition in the newly found centre, but it is striking to know that, in this process if care is not taken, we could have a situation called ‘spill-back’; which is a back fire effect.

Most theories of integration are seen as normative, but neo-functionalism is inclined to be different, largely due to the fact that it makes use of empirical data in explaining and describing the process of integration.

Strategies that could bring about integration were also reviewed under this theory; the role of actors who serve as agents of socialisation was made imperative, as they play a key role in interacting between the states and groups within the state. This is also part of criticism of a theory regarded as being too elitist.

Also, there is an alleged defectiveness in the neo-functionalists’ assumption of a possible shift of attention and loyalty towards a new centre, that usually leads to the formation of new political community.

3.3 Federalist Approach

A classical federalist thought is about the establishment and maintenance of a political federation, whereby there is a dual political structure which divides authority between the centre and the units of the federation. This is necessary and expected to be sufficient in ensuring integration in a diverse community of great territorial and/or national differences.

As a result of the European security dilemma, federalism was employed to ensure co-operation among states and to solve their dispute peacefully, more so to ensure prosperity of its citizens. Attaining a 'Federal Europe' was the target of the federalist. This is premised on voluntary union for the preservation of the welfare, security and prosperity of the citizens in the union, and still recognising and maintaining national identities and interest in line with the general purpose of the union.

The federalist approach is dominated by political elite, who through the use of persuasion and involvement in debate can convince the parties involved to adopt the federal idea, which will ultimately lead to establishing a federation. Federalists, despite having as its goals; peace and welfare also seek political initiative for the creation of supranational structures, still tend to be more interested in the goal of political integration.

The name federation is derived from a Latin word *foedus*, which means alliance. It is an agreement entered into voluntarily and implying a degree of mutual trust and duration. According to Wheare (1964) the federating units "...must desire to be united but not to be unitary". What distinguishes a federation from a unitary state is that the former consist of two or more levels of government. The community tends to realise that the union brought about by federating ensures some degree of economic advantage and serve the purpose of uniting military strength against foreign powers. Several factors are responsible for integration and these includes;

- a. Security: - A community standing alone might not have sufficient military might to resist external aggression hence the need to join forces with other communities to build a reliable and dependable military force that would ensure security against foreign threats.
- b. Commonness: - This is as a result of having similar characteristics either in culture, political institutions, etc leading to understanding and the sense of oneness.
- c. Economic: - Countries that integrate tend to enjoy relative economic advantages from one another's strength, opportunities and weaknesses.
- d. Geography: - countries that are located in close proximity with one another have the tendency of integration, for integration is difficult among nations that are far off from each other.

Despite the imperative of the above factors in triggering federalism, it cannot all bring about the union by themselves. This is where the indispensability of the elite comes in to demonstrate leadership. This

factor of leadership, of skill in negotiation and propaganda, can make all the difference between stagnation and active desire for union. Despite all that have been mentioned, according to Wheare (1964) it is the similarity of political institution that is the most imperative for the formation of the union. A federation according to Wheare's model is desired, and does not possess neo-functionalist concepts such as spill-over, thereby making it organic, that is, a federation is not automatic.

In this theory of integration, forming a union depends on federal bargain in the political, social and economic areas of the federating units. Politicians could perceive a threat to their existence; either internal or external threats then decide to join forces with another, either for military aggression or aggrandisement. The political elite involved form this union to prevent threats thereby giving away some of their sovereignty, barely due to the fact that the risk of forming a union for the sake of participation and protection outweigh that of having independence.

From the foregoing, one can conclude that the end point of integration under this model is, the forming of a federation, and to make this happen, the federating units must have the following characteristics:

1. A common cultural basis: here, they have to possess similar cultural threats such as a common way of life, tradition, language etc. language is imperative in other for the units to be able to understand concepts like democracy, rule of law etc.
2. An institution upholding the federal idea: here, we refer to such institutions as the Supreme Court, powerful enough to settle dispute and weak enough not to be able to destroy the union.

The essence of this theory is the formation of a new state which a new centre becomes. Integration forms a unit that is stronger than when the parties to the union were independent. The motivating factors for this integration could be internal and external threats, but the role of the elite is also worthy of mention, for it is interest (which include becoming stronger in the case of threats, protection and participation), which triggers the process and not ideology.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This work has provided a detailed insight for students of international relations to vividly understand integration theories. Theories such as; functionalist, neo-functionalist and federalist approaches have been discussed at length.

5.0 SUMMARY

Integration theory has been essential to keeping the peace and harmony in the international system. Moreover, the theory dwells more on the economic and socio-cultural benefits of international relations, rather than the political.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Explain integration theory.
- ii. Discuss the approaches to the integration theory.
- iii. What is the relevance of the integration theory to the study of international relation?

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UNIT 2 SYSTEMS THEORY

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Talcott Parsons
 - 3.2 Gabriel Almond
 - 3.3 David Easton
 - 3.4 Morton Kaplan
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Theories are analytical blocs for describing, explaining and predicting events. Various theories can apply to variety of scenarios. No one theory is capable of analysing every issue, hence as students and scholars in the making, there is need to explore the variety of theories. For the sake of this discourse, the theory to be analysed is the systems theory which started as the general systems theory in the work of Ludwig von Bertalanffy (Varma, 1999).

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain systems theory of international relations
- identify the elements involved in the international system
- analyse international politics using systems theory
- explain systems theory to proffer solutions to the problems of disequilibrium in the international system.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

The theory initially developed under the name “General Systems Theory”, propounded by the biologist, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, before being adapted into other social-sciences, like anthropology and political-science. In the biological sciences where the theory first developed, it meant biological system, in the field of sociology, it meant social system, and in the discipline of political science, it meant political system. This theory has indeed been very operational in the social sciences. It concerns itself simply with the system, be it economic

system, political system, biological system or social system. The work of the following intellectuals Talcott Parsons, Gabriel Almond, David Easton and Morton Kaplan are essential for understanding the theory.

The system is made up of related part which works together as whole to ensure the achievement of certain purposes. From the above simple definition of a system we realise that to achieve a certain purpose, different parts relate together to form a whole in order for the system to function effectively. More so, the parts that come together are also made up of sub parts, which in the case of the systems theory are called subsystem.

3.1 Talcott Parsons

One of the intellectuals that had the most influence in writing on the systems theory is Talcott Parsons, for his work influenced many writers in the field of Political Science, such as Gabriel Almond and David Easton. Parsons proposed three levels of analysis of a system; these are:

1. Social system
2. Cultural system
3. Structural system

Each one of the above serves as a function for the other. He came up with the idea of 'functional prerequisite', which are functions which must be performed by structures in the system for the system to function effectively. The concepts of structure designate the features of the system which can be treated as constant in the face of other significant elements. Parsons' basic functional classification that underlies the whole scheme of systems approach is based on four principal elements. These are more appropriately referred to as Parsons' four-function paradigm. The four-functional paradigms are:

1. The function of pattern maintenance
2. The function of goal attainment
3. The function of adaptation
4. The function of integration

Conclusively, for the international system to be stable, components that perform the above functions must be put in place at the regional/global levels.

3.2 Gabriel Almond

From a political science perspective to Parsons' analysis, we can elaborate on our findings with the 1965 work of Gabriel Almond. This is elaborated with the input and output functions.

1. Input function: - this includes interest articulation/interest aggregation. Interest articulation/aggregation in international relations could be made possible by international organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Amnesty International etc., who make demands on national actors in form of demands that favour their interests in the international environment.
2. Output function: - according to Almond, these are in form of rule making, rule adjudication and rule application. The output is made possible as a result of the demand on the system that comes out as output in form of policy. Policy consists of actions which authoritatively allocate values. These policies tend to impact the environment.

The transformation of input into output is made possible by the conversion processes which are informed of structures. Such structures include the legislature. For the international system to perform effectively, it must properly convert input into output so as to maintain the equilibrium in international environment.

3.3 David Easton

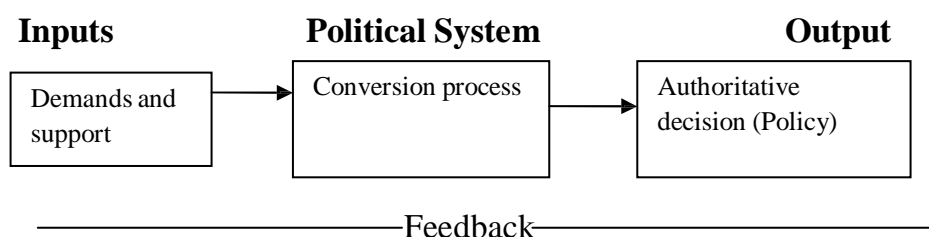
Parsons' work is improved upon by David Easton in his 1953 book titled, "The Political System". In this he defined a political system as a "system of interaction in any society through which binding and authoritative decisions are made". He emphasises that in a political system, we have structures and actors who interact individually and collectively, performing roles that leads to decision making. He further stressed that inputs get into a political system in form of demand and support. The political system absorbs these inputs and converts them to output which are in form of authoritative decisions.

The political system according to David Easton is made up of four parts namely:

1. Inputs: - this is informed of demands made on the political system for certain decisions to be made, and it is also backed by support.
2. Outputs: - this is the outcome of the demands made on the political system and it takes the form of authoritative decisions; that is policy.
3. Conversion process: - this is the stage where input gets transformed into output in the political system.

4. Feedback: - the feedback is the response the policy makers get from the environment, telling them of the success or otherwise of their policy.

Stability is maintained in the system when the inputs are received and are properly converted into output. This will ensure continuity and progress of the system, but when there is alteration in the input-conversion-output process, this will lead to systemic decay of the political system. Below is a diagram representing the system theory:



David Easton provides us with a conceptual frame work which applies to all political systems. He proposed that decision makers are faced with the task of putting input into the political system, this input comes in a form of demand and support; this support help to cope with demand. The result of coping is policy. Policy consists of actions which authoritatively allocates values. Policy impacts the political environment (local, national and international), while in turn altering the demand and support experience by leaders.

3.4 Morton Kaplan

The system theory was applied to the international system by Morton Kaplan. In this, the System theory refers to how the international system of separately interacting states impact upon each state; a situation in which the whole shapes the unit. The general system theory also uses the concept of input and output, but the conversion process in political science is what is referred to in the general systems theory as “throughput”.

A super system as a whole consists of input and output; the input is what goes in, while the output is what comes out, therefore output is as a result of input. If a system takes in input, and one cannot see what goes on within it but then, the output still comes out, this is referred to as “black box”, but when input goes in and what goes on in the system can be seen, then this is called “white box”. If we apply this explanation of black box to politics, it means that the system is porous, and that of “white box” means that the system is transparent. In essence, the black

box system will lead to disequilibrium in the international system, while the “white box” system would maintain equilibrium in the international system. From the angle of the whole, the parts are seen as subsystems, while from the angle of the part, the whole is seen as super system. Systems can also be defined as interdependent of parts which accept the impact or influence from the external environment. The interdependence in the above definition means that, the whole depends on the parts and the part depend on the whole, so if there is any change in any of the part, it will affect the whole system or cause change.

Stanley Hoffman defines the international system as “a pattern of relations among the basic units of world politics, characterized by the scope of the objectives pursued by those units and of the task performed among them as well as by the means used to achieve those goals and perform those task”. The intensity of interaction may however differ from place to place; the European nations are said to interact better than the nations of Africa.

McClelland sees the systems theory as “a way of thinking, having proportion of a world view, by this he means that nations come in contact through a complicated frame work to form a process of interaction”. In the process of this interaction, nations tend to act in ways that preserve their national interest. From the forgoing we can define the international system as a ‘two way thing’, whereby nations interact in the international system to give what it has and to take from the environment; what it lacks.

Kaplan’s models of international system

Kaplan mentioned five models of international system and there are;

Balance of power system

There is no precise definition as to the meaning of balance of power, but going by popular consensus, we realise that balance of power aims to ensure that there is equilibrium on the distribution of power among the actors in the international system at any given time, so as to ensure that no one nation in the international system gains much power to be dominant over others. In other words, balance of power aims to prevent unipolarism. Kaplan was of the opinion that at any given point, there should be five or six essential actors. In the case of the First World War, the essential national actors were United States, Germany, England, France and Italy.

The bipolar system

Kaplan was of the opinion that an unstable balance of power system would lead to a Bipolar system, whereby two actors will claim dominant control of two different blocs in the international system. Kaplan stated two bipolar systems which are;

- Loose bipolar system
- Tight bipolar system

Loose bipolar system

This is what is obtainable in the modern world today, whereby the two dominant powers were surrounded by less powerful and non-aligned states. The weaker of the two super powers often become loose by seeking alliance with other lesser powers.

Here are some of the differences between the balance of power and the loose bipolar system

1. Under the loose bipolar system, both the supranational actors and the national actors are active participants.
2. While under the loose bipolar system, in each bloc, there is a lead actor, but under the balance of power system, the supranational actors are divided into blocs and sub-classes such as universal actors like The UN and NATO.

In essence, in a loose bipolar system, we have the predominance of two major powers (in the case of the Cold War we had the USA and USSR), universal actors (the UN), non-member actors (non-aligned states).

Tight bipolar system

Kaplan explained that in the tight bipolar system, the major feature is the disappearance of the non-member actors (non-aligned states) and the universal actors (The UN), thereby leaving the system for the dominance of two major actors. Kaplan further stressed that for stability to be maintained in the tight bipolar system, there has to be hierarchy in the international system, otherwise it will lead to a loose bipolar system.

The universal actor system

In the universal actor system, the national interest of the nation is subordinated to that of the international system, which is the maintenance of peace and stability. State actors are therefore constrained to use peaceful means in achieving their objectives, because the universal actor (The UN) possesses deterrence mechanisms against the possibilities of war.

The creation of this system is made possible after a long spell of instability. The greatest advantage of this system is that, despite the fact that national actors keep striving for more powers, the universal actor (The UN) is powerful enough to prevent the national actors from going to war with each other. Despite this, the national actors still have their individuality.

Hierarchical international system

Under this system practically all nations come under one universal actor except for one. There are two types of hierarchical international systems, and they are:

1. Directive hierarchical international system: - this is brought about by world conquest of a national actor (e.g. Nazi system). This turns the conquered states into sub-divisions of the triumphant national actor.
2. Non-directive hierarchical international system:- here, the system is controlled by democratic tenets and principles.

There exists a pensive mood in the directive hierarchical system creates a heated and tensed relationship among actors, this does not exist under the non-directive system.

Unit veto system

In this system, chaos is the order of the day. This system can be described using Thomas Hobbes' state of nature. National actors consider the possession of weapon of destruction imperative, for the destruction of other national actors. The universal actor that could have served as the mediator in such a system does not exist, thereby giving national actors the freedom to destroy each other at will.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Kaplan is one scholar that devoted most of his time to the study and writing of the rigorous and sophisticated systems theory in international relations. Most of the other scholars in this field have barely done half the work done by Kaplan, but are quick to criticise some part of his work. The literature review on systems approach to the study of international relations, we realise that Kaplan is the most relevant to this theory, and this indeed makes him the chief exponent of the system approach to the international relation.

5.0 SUMMARY

The various scholars that we have examined have been able to give us a detailed assessment of the systems theory. With this, graduate students have been equipped with detailed material on systems theory, and after studying this material, students should be knowledgeable enough to analyse international politics using the work of any of the scholars mentioned in this material.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Of what relevance is the systems theory to the study of international relations?
- ii. Critically analyse the role of the universal actors in the universal system?
- iii. The international environment is dominated by a bipolar system. Discuss.

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UNIT 3 THE BALANCE OF POWER THEORY

CONTENTS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The underlining theme of international relations is that the international system is anarchic, chaotic and disorderly. This presumption is derived from the whole essence of sovereignty on one hand, and the limitations that hinder the effectiveness and efficiency of international law. Thus, state actors have limited boundaries in the conduct of their actions. In order to attain a measure of stability therefore, state actors have had to devise mechanisms that limit the propensity of the international system for chaos, anarchy and disorderliness. Specifically, states have had to contend with curbing the misuse of power/capabilities among themselves. Hence, the creation of a balancing act in order to ensure that very powerful states are not left to ride roughshod over the less-powerful ones.

This unit would undertake a thorough examination of the balance of power theory against the background of competition for power among state actors.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the logic of balance of power

- explain the workings of the balance of power logic
- examine the efficacy of the balance of power mechanism
- acquaint ourselves with the techniques of balance of power.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 What is Balance of Power Theory?

There is no universally accepted definition of balance of power in the study of international relations. What is constant among the numerous explanations of balance of power is that it is a mechanism devised to check the tendency towards armed hostilities between and among nations through the balancing of capabilities that may be available to a single state or a group of states. In effect, it is a coalition of minds that deter or ward-off intending aggressors so that the possibilities of conflict can be countered or nipped in the bud.

The international arena is made up of state-actors with varying degrees of interests, which is encapsulated as the goals of the country's national interest. These interests may be variable, permanent, long-range, etc. but they form the core of the reasons for the existence of the state. The divergent nature of these interests among state-actors and the determination for their pursuit often degenerate into inter-state conflicts. For instance, there were clashes of interest between the US and Saddam Hussein's Iraq a number of times. Two of the most devastating outcomes of the conflicts were the Gulf War and the US invasion of Iraq.

In both pre-modern and modern societies, human nature is restrained and contained through the legal system and the enforcement of the legal codes by the government. However with the absence of a "world government" in the international system to regulate and curtail the actions of states, the international system is presumed to be anarchic, because even with the existence of international law, the international system lacks the capacity to work as a government. For instance, the sentencing of the Sudanese President, Omar Al-Bashir by the international criminal court bears only a moral weight, there is no government to ensure that the President of Sudan is indeed prosecuted for the offences he was charged. In effect, the balance of power mechanism exists on the belief that order can be ensured, assured and maintained through the collaboration of power by countries of like-mind.

The term "Balance of Power" therefore refers to the distribution of power capabilities of various states through the creation of alliances. The BOP theory operates on the assumption that "when one state or

alliance increases its power or uses it more aggressively, threatened states will increase their own power in response thus, forming a counter-balancing force” (Akinboye & Ottoh, 2009).

One may wonder how the balance of power system may resolve or act as deterrent to conflicts. A good example of the balance of power theory in operation was during the Cold War (which pitched the East against the Western bloc of states), where the combination of the powers available to both United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies had parity both in terms of conventional weapons and nuclear arms. Both groups of states had the capability for “overkill”, and this acted as deterrent for going to war. Going to war between both blocs would have resulted in mutually assured destruction. Under such circumstances, the possibilities of war become very remote, as such, peace is maintained.

The theory therefore provides the justification for the application of alliance networks and collaborations in deterring aggressor states in the international system. The theory is premised on the assumption that the coalition of forces would be presumed to be more powerful than the military strength and possession of a single aggressive force or a coalition of forces.

3.2 The Workings of the Balance of Power System

In clear terms, balance of power refers to the conglomeration of states devolved into two or more groups whose combination of military, economic and diplomatic weights and capacity for action are more or less same (Spanier, 1987). Since each group of states possess similar capabilities, none would have the capacity to effectively dominate the others. This greatly reduces the possibility of aggression and conflict because there is much to lose in going to war with an equal power. This is in contrast to a situation in which a very powerful country deals with a very weak one, victory is more assured to the more powerful country and as a result, aggressive action is more attractive as a means to protect a country’s national interests. Based on the high level of actual risks, states are necessarily forced to deal with one-another through other means when a situation of balance of power is achieved and maintained. The balance of power mechanism took its roots from Europe and for centuries was applied as a tool for maintaining the peace. It was prominent in Europe between the end of the 30 years war and the subsequent Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 till the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Essentially, the major initiators and participants in the mechanism were European nations, because all international power resided in Europe, and there no states outside of Europe that was capable of exerting the required influence on the balancing process.

3.3 State of Equilibrium

A state of equilibrium connotes the condition of a system in competing influences and balanced forces. The equilibrium state indicates symmetry or balance, such that an addition or subtraction from either side of the spectrum would result in a tilt. It is essential to attain and maintain balance in the international system; it remains the most assured guarantee of global peace and harmony.

Theoretically, a state of equilibrium is one in which there is an even distribution of power among groups of states that have formed one form of alliance or the other. This ensures that no one group of states is perceived as the singular dominating entity in the global arena. It should be noted that a state of equilibrium is not static but rather is constantly being adjusted by the relative changing fortunes of nations so that new equilibriums are always in the process of being created, or old states restored.

3.4 State of Disequilibrium

A state of disequilibrium is when there is a preponderance or one-sided shift of power to a single nation-state or existing alliance. What this implies is that, there are no counter-balancing force(s) to the manoeuvrings of the dominant state. A recent event as the Libya crisis of 2011 should drive home this point. While the Western allies under the aegis of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) assisted the civil society in Libya to topple the Gaddafi regime, it must be made clear that the system was in a state of disequilibrium as it concerned the Libyan case. If Libya had its own allies commanding similar power and capabilities commensurate with that possessed by NATO, the possibility of the Libyan invasion would have been very remote. Indeed, some other methods and means would have been employed to resolve the Libyan imbroglio. Thus, a state of disequilibrium provides the opportunity for the powerful state or alliances to dominate the less powerful ones.

3.5 Techniques of Balance of Power

The following are the major techniques of balancing power in the international system. They are:

1. Alliance
2. Armament
3. Divide and Rule
4. Neutralisation

3.5.1 Alliance

This is a technique of balance of power whereby a state seeking to curb a potential hegemon before it becomes too strong, therefore enters into a security co-operation of two or more states so as to ally against the prevailing threat. A good example of this occurred during the Second World War when the Allied Nations united in alliance against Germany and her allies. States will woo alliance partners by adapting to them. Example: France and Russia attempting to appear more alike one another in order to form their alliance in 1894. For security, states are willing to align with anyone. The weaker partner in an alliance will determine policy in a moment of crisis. International competition will tend to force states in a multi-polar order into two blocs. Having two blocs does not mean that the system is bi-polar, because alliance shifts and defections can still occur. These alliance shifts and defections make the multi-polar order dangerous. The flexibility of alliances makes for rigidity in strategy. For bi-polar alliances:

Alliance leaders do not need to worry much about the faithfulness of followers. In bi-polar systems, there will be unequal burden-sharing between the major and minor powers in an alliance. Major powers in a bi-polar system do not need to make themselves attractive to alliance partners. Example: the Soviet Union and the U.S. did not alter their strategies to accommodate allies. The rigidity of bi-polar alliances makes for flexible strategy.

For its parsimony and theoretical rigor, neorealism has been the baseline for most of international relations theory over the last 20 years. It has prompted a rich literature critiquing it on a number of fronts: for instance, neoliberals say that it does not take seriously enough the possibility that states may choose absolute over relative gains, particularly in situations where institutions can alter payoffs; constructivists argue that it fails to recognise the manner in which agents and structures are mutually constitutive; and people from all over the map say that it is too generalised and yields little in the way of testable implications. Nevertheless, the theory has been hugely influential.

3.5.2 Armament

This is where two nations in their struggle for power build up arms or engage in *arms' race* in preparation for war or in a bid to overwhelm the others. An example of this scenario played out during the Cold War, between the Eastern and the Western blocs of states. The resultant effect of this is that, it creates tension and instability in the international system. Also, the socio-economic development of citizens suffers as a

large chunk of budgetary expenditures go to acquiring military hardware. Balance of power uses this technique to make sure that no single nation has monopoly over the weapons of destruction. This system would deter either nation from resorting to war without first exploring other means of resolving their conflicts.

3.5.3 Divide and Rule

This is where two nations are put against one another so as to take away the chances of them combining forces. Divide and rule could also be seen as a situation in which a country is divided among some powers so as to maintain equilibrium in their power base. A typical example is the division of Poland among Russia, Austria and Russia. This was used to ensure balance in Europe at the time.

3.5.4 Neutralisation

This is best explained by the circumstances of Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland during the First World War. Having confessed to neutrality, the position of Switzerland during the war was fundamental to the effects of the war on its neighbours, namely; Germany, France and Italy. Thus, in preserving the balance, none of Switzerland's neighbours could agree on its addition to one or both of the other states, because Switzerland was too strategically important. In effect, the agreement was to accept the neutrality of Switzerland and to keep "hands off", thereby maintaining the country as a buffer zone between the three neighbours.

3.6 Balance of Power Today

The collapse the Soviet Union in 1991 left the United States as the World's sole super power. Balance of power suggests that without the Soviet threat, the United States, as the dominant world power will cause a disequilibrium in the global system. For example, key countries such as; China, Russia, France and Germany all opposed the United States' invasion of Iraq in 2003. Yet, this opposition did not stop the United States from acting, thereby exposing the huge gap in military capability that now exists between the United States and the rest of the world. Small states that fear the United States are no longer able to join a counter balancing coalition to protect their security. Instead, many are developing nuclear weapons in an attempt to dramatically expand their military capability. For example, North Korea claimed in 2003 that it was developing nuclear weapons to balance against United States power. Similarly, the intentions of Iran in embarking on a nuclear programme are still causing ripples among the powerful countries of the world.

The changing nature of power in today's international system further complicates the operation of the global balance of power. Globalisation, the internet, weapons of mass destruction and other technological developments have made it possible for small states and even non-state groups to acquire significant power. In the future, the balance of power may continue to operate among states engaged in prolonged disputes, but it is less applicable to conflicts involving terrorists and other non-state groups.

3.7 Weaknesses of the Balance of Power

The balance of power system has been very useful in curtailing the excesses of states, but it has also received some criticisms. One of such is that, even with the balance of power in place, the Second World War still broke out. What this implies is that balance of power as an instrument of preventing war was unable to prevent the anarchy that engulfed the world as a result of that war.

Also, critics have argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union has created hegemony in the United States and this poses a challenge for the balance of power system. The challenge to the balance of power in international relations is how to correct the present power configuration in the international arena without disturbing the present balance which tilts in favour of the United States. However despite the shortcomings of balance of power it remains a useful system for stabilising the international arena.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has provided an examination of one of the fundamental mechanisms for maintaining peace and harmony in the international system. The unit provides clues as to the meaning, operation and techniques of the balance of power theory. Similarly, arguments that tone down the capacity of the mechanism is also treated in the unit. Although, the relevance of the balance of power technique may not be as strong as it was in the era of the Euro-centric international system. The features of the contemporary state system equally allows for the use of the balance-of-power system to maintain global peace and security.

5.0 SUMMARY

It is made clear that the balance of power mechanism was very useful in curtailing the excesses of states in the Euro-centric state system. However, its efficacy has been called to question since the outbreak of the Second World-War, and more recently, some of the seeming unilateral actions of the United States have called to question the

efficacy of the balance of power mechanism. Therefore, it is safe to surmise that the contemporary international system is witnessing a period of balance of power disequilibrium. Despite some of its weaknesses though, its ability to stem the tides of conflict cannot be entirely wished away.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. What do you understand by balance of power theory?
- ii. Discuss the techniques of balance of power.
- iii. Why was the balance of power system successful in Europe prior to the First World War?

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UNIT 4 THE POWER THEORY

CONTENTS

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- 2.0 Objectives
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Inter-state relation is one of the fundamental characteristics of the international system. Inherent in the relationship, is the pursuit of the goals, desires and aspirations of each as embedded in the national-interest. The success or otherwise of this pursuit would most likely depend on the amount of power in the possession of each state. The acquisition of power is therefore a fundamental necessity for states in the system. This unit would expose us to the main issues relating to states' power. The ability to use power or the hindrances encountered in the process of using power to achieve objectives would be treated in this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the Power Theory as a tool of analysis
- identify the Elements of Power
- explain the Dimensions of Power
- describe the Power Theory.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Power Theory

Power can generally be thought of as the ability to influence others, in spite of their resistance; thereby making it possible for powerful state 'A' to ensure that state 'B' does what state 'A' expects and has the ability to prevent state 'B' from doing same to her. In the classical power theory, it is assumed that nations always seek to maximise their power to serve their interests. This creates open-competition which can sometimes lead to war.

Power theory is one of the central theories of international relations. Put simply, power theory provides the epistemological explanation of inter-state relations through the use of force or by threats of the use of force. This theory uses power as its tool of analysis. The possession of superior power allows a nation-state to pursue its interests by whatever means necessary. For the classical realists, the desire to seek power comes from a combination of human nature, which is inherently self-interested and rational, and certain historical conditions that make international anarchy the status quo between nations. In society, human nature is restrained through the law and its enforcement by the government; because there is no "world government," countries can only be restrained by the power of other countries. Power is also used when describing states or actors that have achieved military victories or security for their state in the international system. This general usage is most commonly found among the writings of historians or popular writers. For instance, a state that has achieved a string of combat victories in a military campaign against other states can be described as powerful. An actor that has succeeded in protecting its security, sovereignty, or strategic interests from repeated or significant challenge can also be described as powerful.

One of the schools of thought that advocate the power theory is the realist school of thought which uses power as a tool of analysis in international politics. The nation with greater power overwhelms the other as a result, the objective of all states action is to acquire, retain or increase its power.

Power theory goes further to claim that chances of war between a dominant state and less powerful state is very remote. The dominant state would be too powerful for the challenger state which lacks the capability to act against its dissatisfaction. States pursue varied objectives, but whatever these objectives, and however they choose to pursue them, states must have the power to achieve what they set out to achieve. The ends and means of balancing the objectives of states are however very rare.

We can see evidence of conflict during the Cold War. Strong powers such as the United States waged war against weaker ones such as Vietnam. Interestingly, the de facto defeat of the United States in Vietnam and of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan point to a more complex conception of power than mere economic or military might. Indeed, many of the more recent theories of international relations argue that power as traditionally defined by realists such as Hans Morgenthau is inherently vague and open to interpretation based on particular situations. Still, it can be effectively concluded that power is fundamentally concerned with what a country can do, and what it can prevent another country from doing to it. The means by which this is done may be changing, as irregular warfare and terrorism become more prominent, yet the essence of competing wills and interest in the international arena remains.

It goes further to assume that since the sovereign state is at the heart of the state system, the first and most fundamental prerequisite requirement for any state to remain independent is power. The logic is therefore that a state may have a large amount of power or relatively little, but for its independence, it must have sufficient amount to ward off potential threats. Various mechanisms are employed in ascertaining independence; mobilisation of adequate power or formation of alliances of common interest states to ward off aggression. Under the analysis of power politics, four specific factors are known to be constant, they are;

- a. There must be a conflict of values or interests- this proposition suggests that for the show of power to be manifest, there must be disagreement between two states or among groups of states. In essence, it is either state A perceives state B as acting against state A's interest. Under such circumstances, the protection of interest may lead to a show of power.
- b. Compliance- power is premised on the ability of a state to enforce compliance with its own interest by other states. The ability to deploy superior force would provoke the less powerful state to comply with the demands of the more powerful state.
- c. Possibilities of invoking sanctions that may inflict severe deprivations- this implies that the cost of non-compliance to the demands of a more powerful state by a weak state would be more than compliance. In short, the threatened state B is of the opinion that the opposing state A's superior threat of sanction is credible and real.
- d. Extreme differences may result in force- a resort to force is an indication of failure to attain objectives by threats of punishment.

Yet, the use of force may still not guarantee the realisation of these objectives.

3.2 Criticisms of Power Theory

This theory has been criticised for putting too much emphasis on only power as the tool of analysis. The argument is that power alone (acquisition, retention, management, etc.) cannot be used to explain all the dynamism of state interaction.

Power theorists advocate that the use of force or threat or the use of force is the main strategy that states use to pursue their interests, the critics opined that there are other means by which states pursue their interests such as; persuasion, propaganda, economic instrument, as well as manipulation. Furthermore, the argument is also presented of the possibility of other forms of inter-state cooperation and collaboration that improve the cause of humanity beyond the drive for power. In this respect, socio-cultural relations and sporting activities have been found as useful tools for maintaining peaceful and harmonious co-existence among states. The criticism goes further to explain that if every activity of states has been power-inspired, there would have been many more clashes of international dimensions. This argument is premised on the fact that the last major physical international confrontation took place over half a century ago; the Second World War, yet the world has not become a theatre of another war on the global scale. Though there may be pockets of wars and conflicts in different regions of the world, the absence of a coordinated war among the various centres of power weakens the arguments of the power theorists substantially.

In spite of these objections, the power theory still remains a very useful tool of analysing the means by which nations pursue their interest.

3.3 Dimensions of Power

The analysis of power is sometimes difficult to explain because power can be analysed from both the abstract and empirical dimensions. Power can be viewed from the possession of tangible assets or capabilities as well as the possession of intangible assets. The tangible assets may be objectively quantified. For example, army size, population, economy etc. Although, even such quantification may not have clear-cut measure, despite the possibilities of quantification, it may not be easily ascertained whether state 'A' is more powerful than state B'.

Power equally involves other dimensions which are difficult to quantify or measure. These intangible possessions may be useful for power assessment at the level of non-military measurement of determinants of

power. Similarly, power can be relational. Relational power exists between two states when there are acceptable standards or indices of measuring power. Nigeria may be seen to be more powerful than Togo, because based on economic indicators provided by global agencies; Nigeria possesses a better economy and greater military strength. This is also the case when Nigeria is compared with the United States of America, where Nigeria is presented as a non-powerful nation. To this extent therefore, power is regarded as relational.

In a significant sense, power could be perceived from the psychological dimension. This is because a nation's power may largely depend on the perception of other nations of its strength. A very important means of exploring this possibility is the display of strength that nations usually exhibit at every given opportunity. Similarly, they help foster peace in conflict-prone areas by sending their military contingents. The whole essence of these activities is sometimes embedded in swaying the perception of others to their possession of military strength.

3.4 Elements of Power

Fundamentally, being powerful as a state requires the combination of some critical elements. A state may be powerful without possessing all of these elements, but some of these elements must be present for a state to be regarded as powerful. These are:

1. Military strength
2. Technology
3. Resources
4. Qualitative population/demography
5. Economic development

3.4.1 Military Strength

The military strength of a nation goes a long way in determining its ability to wage a war or prevent other states from waging a war against it. A nation with a large and well equipped standing army will be seen as a force to reckon with in the international community. Hence, any nation that seeks to pursue its national objectives, some of which may lead to war, must develop the capacity for war by outfitting its armed forces with modern means of warfare. Any challenging state realising that it faces a superior army would readily seek other means of resolving conflicts rather than open warfare.

There have however been contentions on the measure of military strength as an element of state's power. The questions arise on the basis of the comparison between the armaments of various states. For

instance, what number of AK47 automatic rifles would be equal to what number of sub-machine guns? Despite this unclear means of measurements, states have never stopped building their arsenals. Furthermore, the more powerful states are more easily known based on their experiences in the acts of warfare, moreover, the military shows of capabilities that are conducted at intervals to display newly acquired military weapons and hardware could help in determining the power capabilities of some states. The knowledge is very useful for deterring aggression and offensives.

The primary reason for the existence of the military is to engage in [combat](#), should it be required to do so by the national defence policy, and to win. This represents an organisational goal of any military, and the primary focus for military thought, through [military history](#). The "show" of military force has been a term that referred as much to military force projection, as to the units such as [regiments](#) or [gunboats deployed](#) in a particular theatre, or as an aggregate of such forces. In the [Gulf War](#), the [United States central command](#) controlled military forces (units) of each of the four military services of the United States. How [victory](#) is achieved, and what shape it assumes is studied by most, if not all, military groups on three levels.

3.4.2 Technology

With the transformation of the international system through high-level technology, especially information technology and fighter jets, the perception of power capabilities have changed. Thus, the possession of modern technology has become one of the indexes of power. The development of advanced technology gives a nation an edge in the age of information communication technology. This explains why states that wishes to be taken seriously at the global stage commits vast resources to its research and development institutes.

Technological advancement helps in gathering intelligence information and reports that are useful in ascertaining other state's capabilities and potentials. Beyond this, is also the ability for developing nuclear technology that may be used in both peacetime and wartime. For instance, the Drone War is an evidence of the high level that has been reached by states in the prosecution of war. It is important to note that a country with low-level technology is bound to fail in periods of war.

3.4.3 The Possession of Natural Resource

A nation which is not only rich in natural resources but has also been able to harness these resources and channel it towards productive development is bound to be taken seriously in the global arena. For

instance, Russia, which has one of the world's largest reserves of natural gas, was able to use this to develop into a world power. Beyond this, the possession of scarce natural resources allows nations the bargaining ability, even against nations that are militarily very strong. Thus, the judicious use of natural resources can provide the necessary leverage for nations in the modern era.

3.4.4 Qualitative Population /Demography

The population is an index for power, a country that is highly populated is positioned to play an active role in international system. Aside of the ability of the state to be able to deploy its active population in the case of ground-war, despite the high-level of technology in contemporary times, the quality of the population is also fundamental to the power potentials of states. A qualitative population bestows on a nation, the capacity and capability to play an active role in the international system.

3.4.5 The Level of Economic Development

The nation's capacity or capability to play an active role on the international system is greatly determined by the level of its economic development. For a developed economy, playing a major role in international relations would be understandable as against a situation in which the state possesses an underdeveloped economy, in which the citizenry live in poverty and squalor. Therefore, the growth that is measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capita income are important elements in the formulation of a country's foreign policy.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has provided an analysis of how power is used by nations to pursue their goals in the international system. We have also examined the varying dimensions of power. It can be concluded that power is fundamentally concerned with the actions a nation can undertake, and the ability to prevent other nations from undertaking actions that are deemed to be injurious to its own goals and objectives.

5.0 SUMMARY

The importance of power as a tool of analysis in the international system has been identified as very critical. Similarly, we have also been able to explain the various elements that are fundamental to the power capabilities of states. While all of the elements are not essential to being powerful, the possession of none of the elements renders the states

weak. Similarly, we have been able to show that power is relational, and it encompasses both tangible and intangible factors.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

- i. Discuss power theory as a tool of analysis.
- ii. Explain the elements of power.
- iii. Distinguish between tangible and intangible power.

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MODULE 3

Unit 1	State Actors in International Relations
Unit 2	Intergovernmental Non-State Actors
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UNIT 1 STATE ACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

International relations is presumed to encompass the whole gamut of relationships in the international system. It involves the issues of high and low politics, the volatile to the mundane, and the conflictual and the cordial. In these very types of relationships, there are actors and players that initiate and carry out the various types of interactions. These actors include the state and the non-state actors. There have been debates about the importance of the state in contemporary international relations, the debates remain on going thus, the importance of focusing on the state as an actor without necessarily comparing the state with other actors in the system.

This unit would throw more light on the features and characteristics of the state as an actor in international relations. It goes further to explain some of the fundamental categorisations that the state has been known with.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning of state as an actor in the international system.
- explain the characteristics of state
- distinguish among the different categorisations of the state.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 CONCEPTUALISING THE STATE AS AN ACTOR

Theoretically, the state is the basic actor in international relations. All forms of interactions, even those that are not carried out by the state, revolve around the state. This major catalyst for international relations can thus be defined as a legitimate and organised political entity controlled by a government (including the various arms and levels), with human inhabitants and whose independence is recognised by other states. States differ in size but share similar characteristics. For a political entity to be regarded as a state, the following features must be presented:

- Sovereignty
- Territory
- Population and Nationalism
- Armed Forces
- Recognition
- Government

Sovereignty: - this is arguably the most essential character of the state. The sovereignty of a state refers to the legal attributes that compel others to accept a political entity as a state. The possession of sovereignty guarantees the existence of equality among states, and ensures that interference is not acceptable under normal circumstances. There are two types of sovereignty; the external and the internal sovereignty.

External sovereignty is required in the conduct of relations and interactions with the rest of the world. This sovereignty ensures that the state creates the basis for its own foreign-policy objectives and works towards the actualisation of the objectives. External sovereignty is that instrument that guarantees the freedom and independence of states. It is the recognition by the rest of the world that a state is not under the rule of another state. For instance, Africa's colonial political entities became sovereign states when they were granted their independence. In other words, a state under the yoke of colonialism, invasion or occupation does not possess the instrument of external sovereignty. When a state becomes sovereign, it is therefore at liberty to determine its own

national interest, thereby able to define; vital and core interests, long, medium and short-range interests, etc.

Internal sovereignty on the other hand, is the instrument that confers legitimacy on the government of a country. Under this arrangement, the citizenry accepts the authority of government and are willing without force or coercion to obey the laws of the land as enshrined in the constitution, and to carry out their obligations, and legitimately await the fulfilment of their rights by the government. In essence, internal sovereignty is a 'sine qua non' to domestic tranquillity and general well-being of the people. In the wake of the Arab Spring, the subsisting governments of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya had lost their internal sovereignties before their overthrow. In the instance of Syria, the civil disobedience that has remained constant in the country is suggestive of the fact that the government no longer commands the respect of the citizenry, and therefore, the internal sovereignty does no longer exist.

Territory: - for a state to be so recognised, it must have a clearly defined territory. Thus, there is the existence of international borders which demarcate the various states from one-another. Aside of land-borders, sea-territories and air-space are also fundamental in the definition of territories. Thus, for a political entity to be regarded as a state, it must possess its own territories on land, sea and in the air.

Population and Nationalism: - a state must also have its own population made up of its citizenry, who must share common basic characteristics, such as; value systems, norms, cultural orientation, etc. The population of the state is indicative of the history of the state, and also defines the identity of the state. It is expected that the citizenry should be loyal to the government and the state, and in effect, display some level of nationalism at critical periods, as and when required.

Armed Forces: - based on the fact that a political entity must be able to protect itself against external aggression, whether on land, in the sea or air, a state must possess its own military force, which must include the army, navy and air-force. Though the level of military strength and capability may differ, each state must at all times have a standing army.

Recognition by other States: - a state must also seek recognition from the rest of the international community. It is that recognition that allows for participation in the interaction among the comity of nations. Such recognition provides mutual benefits for all concerned, since the international system as evolved into an interdependent global village. Recognition, whether in its *dejure* or *defacto* is of immense importance for a political entity to be regarded as a state.

Government: - this refers to the instrument through which the aspirations and objectives of the state is realised. The government as an instrument of the state is mandated to ensure the pooling of the human and material resources in the pursuit of the state's national interest. In this respect, the government represents the state at all international functions, including signing of treaties and agreements on behalf of the state. The strength of the state is therefore determined by the functionality of its government.

3.1.1 Failed State

A failed state is one that is unable to effectively maintain all or some of the essential characteristics of a state. It could also be referred to as “collapsed” or “disintegrated” state. In effect, the political structure of a failed state would have been crippled by significant variables. Max Weber argues that a state can be described as a failed state if it fails to maintain either or both internal and external sovereignty, thereby losing the ability for internal “monopoly of power”. A failed state is therefore an unworkable state, which may likely disintegrate or be dismembered. This means that a failed state is one without a sovereign government, a state that has lost control of its borders, a state where the government cannot guarantee the safety of its citizens, a habitat for the procreation of corruption and criminality. Although some times, states move from being failed to regain their statehood.

Failed states have specific characteristics which are the indicators that demonstrate their status. These indicators have been presented as the Failed States Index (Patrick, 2007). They are categorised into the social, economic and political indicators, and on the basis of the performances of these indicators states are assessed. The indicators are:

Social indicators:	Demographic pressures Populace emigration Brain-drain
Economic indicators:	Economic and social inequality Economic decline
Political indicators:	Widespread corruption Violation of human rights Illegal Security mechanism Decline of public services Intervention of foreign forces Rise of factionalised elites

These conditions are reflections of unhealthy domestic conditions, some of which could arise as a result of internecine and ethnic wars and class or group rivalries. Basically therefore, the inability to manage contending objectives of the various forces in a state could trigger conditions that may turn the state into a failed state. Unfortunately, the failed state condition also has snowballing effects on its own environment, called domestic effects, and also on its region, called neighbourhood effects.

Domestic effects are evident when there is massive emigration and consequently, massive inflow of refugees into neighbouring states. It should also be noted that once a state loses control of its borders, illegal activities such as drug production and trafficking thrive. These domestic effects trigger the neighbouring effects, which could come in form of the spread of various kinds of diseases, including, HIV/AIDS. Beyond these, conditions in some failed states may alter the political and socio-economic circumstances of neighbouring states. In recent years, quite a number of countries in Africa have experienced this condition.

3.1.2 Developed States

The concept of development in relation to the circumstances of states focuses on the economic well-being and the social welfare opportunities open to the general populace. It is meant to be a reflection of the economic circumstances of the people. However, in recent times, conditions such as political stability, socio-cultural harmony, level of education, infrastructural development, etc. have been to the economic indicators in determining whether a state is developed or not. A developed state can therefore be defined as one that has recorded remarkable growth and development in its economic, political and social spheres. Such states are also called “advanced state”, “industrialised state” or “a first world country”. Most states that qualify for this categorisation are found in the Western world, comprising of most Western and Central European countries and the United States of America. In the qualifications, rankings are undertaken using the assessment of the following variables:

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per Capita: this is the total worth of goods and services produced in a state within a particular period.

Level of Industrialisation: the economic and social system is defined by the industrial growth and development in a state.

Human Development Index (HDI): this is a combination of the economic measure, national income, life expectancy and education of the populace.

Instructively though, the United Nations Statistics Division argues that there is no established convention for the designation of “developed” and “developing” countries or areas in the United Nations system. The designations “developed” and “developing” are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process”. Despite this position, there are fundamental differences in the level of development among states.

3.1.3 Developing States

On the other extreme are countries that do not meet any of the criteria used in the assessment of the level of development. For these states, it is found that while the economic conditions are worrisome, political stability is not guaranteed, as such the basic necessities of life become a herculean task to achieve. Most of these countries suffer from lack of infrastructure and in some cases, infrastructural decay. These unfortunate conditions are not helped by massive corruption, which is usually the order of the day because of the absence of adequate control systems. In most cases, the economies are comatose and highly dependent on aids and assistance from external sources. These states are also referred to as Less Developed Countries (LDCs), Least Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs), “Under – developed Nations”, “Third World Nations”, “non-industrialised states”, “Least Developed Countries (LDCs). All these are euphemisms which subtly suggest inferiority (Sullivan & Sheffrin, 2003). There has however been contention over time that the suggestive inferiority toga should be discountenanced, because the concerned countries are known to attempt treading the path to growth and development. Thus, the adoption of the “Developing State” concept.

Characteristically, developing states can be perceived as the under-privileged and deprived countries of the world, mostly from Africa and Latin America. Their low level of development and growth is usually characterised by the fragility present in their economic, political and social lives. Their economy is usually dominated by the agricultural sector (primary products) which is crippled by low investments and productivity. As a result of the lack of industrialisation, the primary or crude products cannot be refined, and are therefore exported to the developed parts of the world for processing. Mostly, such products after being refined and packaged are now imported by the developing country, which happens to be the originating country of the product. On the long run, the developing country’s unrefined product that was sold cheaply is now being bought at exorbitant as refined products. Without doubt, these countries have become vulnerable states, because of their positions at the periphery of the international economic system. Except

fundamental changes take place, most developing countries may never cross the line to development.

Specifically therefore, a typical developing country would be characterised by the following features; low Gross National Income, high infant mortality rate, lack of infrastructure (epileptic power supply), low literacy level, poor educational facilities, balance of payments deficits, mono-product economy, political instability, corruption, weak control systems, among other features.

3.1.4 North/South Divide

It is also instructive to note that states are categorised through the premise of hemispheric positions. Although, the geo-strategic arrangement does not follow any defined pattern, however, it provides indication for the wealth of a country for the purposes of analysis and decision-making. The states of the north are regarded as the rich countries of the world, while the states of the south are the poor countries. Under rigid geographical consideration, this classification would be regarded as faulty. This is because, a country like the United States of America, which is a prominent country in the north is put in the same category as the rich countries in Europe. It is noteworthy that the US and the countries of Europe are not geographically contiguous. The same argument goes for countries of the south, in a category that includes African countries, India and Latin America. This is because Africa, Asia and Latin America are devoid of geographical propinquity. However, as earlier mentioned, for the purposes of analysis and decision-making, the countries of the north are the economically developed states of the world, while those of the south are the developing states of the world.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit is an attempt to examine the import of state as perhaps the most significant actor in the international system. While not delving into the theoretical debate concerning the most important actor, it has exposed the importance of state as an actor. In so doing, the unit has equally presented three of the various categories of states that exist. This categorisation took cognisance of the political, economic and socio-cultural indices.

5.0 SUMMARY

The state is an important factor in the international system. However, in the categorisation of states, it is important to note that the major delimiting factor is that the major concepts have no precise definitions

and can have only subjective definitions and meanings; for instance, in the case of the “developed” state, growth and development are neither stagnant nor static. There are also various arguments condemning the international adoption of the term “under- developed” and the re-adoption of the term “Less Economically Developed Countries”.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Explain in details, the various characteristics of a failed state.
- ii. Make clear distinctions between developing and developed countries.
- iii. What are the basic features of a state?
- iv. Discuss the North/South divide debate.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 INTERGOVERNMENTAL NON—STATE ACTORS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

As explained in the previous unit, there are two types of actors in the international system; these are the state and non-state actors. This unit would focus particular attention on the discussion of issues pertaining to intergovernmental non-state actors. Being creation of states, this category of actors pursues objectives and performs functions that directly impact on other actors, especially state actors. Specifically, the unit would discuss the roles, functions, structures and objectives of the various types of intergovernmental non-state actors.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the roles of international organisations in international relations
- describe the part played by each category of international organisation in fostering international relations
- differentiate among international organisations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 What Are International Organisations?

It must be made clear from the outset that intergovernmental non-state actors are basically international organisations. International organisations also known as intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) are voluntary organisations whose memberships are composed of

independent states driven by a common desire, thus form a forum that has organisational rules, processes, structures and procedures, and are designed to achieve specific objectives, in all or some of the following realms; political, social or economic. In other words, an international organisation refers to all forms of cooperative arrangement instituted among states usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities. Here, this “mutually advantageous functions” could be long or short term. The organisations with the short term functions are usually dissolved after the attainment of the set goals. However, it is important to note that some organisations with long term functions usually outgrow their relevance or are dissolved as a result of certain inadequacies.

For instance, the League of Nations, Duverger (1972) argues that the international organisation symbolise a “formal system of rules and objectives, a rationalised administrative instrument that is technically and materially organised with its own constitution, local chapters, physical equipments, machines, emblems, letterheads stationery, staff, an administrative hierarchy and so on”. In his view, international organisations are channels and mediums through which cordial international relations are established. This is similar to Plano and Olton’s position where they defined the international organisation as an organisation with “a formal arrangement transcending national boundaries that provides for the establishment of an institutional machinery to facilitate cooperation among members in security, economic or related fields”.

Decisions at this level are made through negotiations and discussions. Individual member states send their representatives who are charged with presenting and supporting their state’s positions on issues slated for discussions. Intergovernmental organisations are an important aspect of [public international law](#). They are established by [treaty](#) that acts as a [charter](#) creating such groups. Treaties are formed when lawful representatives (governments) of several states go through a [ratification](#) process, providing the IGO with an international [legal personality](#). Intergovernmental organisations in a legal sense should be distinguished from simple groupings or [coalitions](#) of states, such as the [G8](#) or the [Quartet](#). Such groups or associations have not been founded by a constituent document and exist only as [task groups](#). One of the fundamental attributes of international organisations is their ability to provide solace and through their intervention respite for developing states during conflict. Some argue that this interference weakens the central head in the affected state but the absence of interference could lead to global instability. International organisations invariably lead to peaceful co-existence among member states.

International organisations can be classified using the scope, function and operational mechanisms of the organisation. There are thus two types of international organisations and these are:

- Regional organisation
- Global organisation

Using the functional method, international organisations can be subdivided into:

- The political organisations: The Arab League, The African Union
- The economic organisations: The European Coal and Steel Community (E.C.S.C)
- The social organisation: The World Health Organisation (W.H.O), The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)
- The military organisation: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

Böhning (1999) claims that the main functions of international organisations are:

1. The collection and dissemination of information
2. Setting internationally acceptable norms
3. Fostering cooperation through meetings
4. Engaging in technical cooperation activities.

Structure and Features of International Organisations

1. International organisations are made up of sovereign independent states who come together for economic, political or social purposes.
2. Decisions are made through deliberations and negotiations.
3. Every international organisation in settling disputes engages the aggrieved parties in mediation, enquiry, negotiation and reconciliation.
4. Unlike a state with the legislative arm of government, the international organisations only possess legislative functions. Law-making and other legislative functions are made and carried out at the annual conferences or summits.

5. International organisations are created solely to serve the interests of the member-states.
6. Some international organisations, for instance, the United Nations possess judicial rights. These rights are made obvious through the creation of the committee that performs these roles, for example, the International Court of Justice. However there is a clause, they cannot try cases not presented to member-states.

3.1.2 Regional Organisations

Regional organisations are organisations formed by three or more states for the pursuance of set goals, interests and objectives. These states share certain similar features which are common interests historical similarities and language. Regional organisations are therefore set up to checkmate the excesses of other state members, to ensure peace, security and stability in member states and to provide platforms for economic growth in the respective states. They help in the economic development of member states. Some of these are European Union (EU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In effect, regional organisations can also be seen as voluntary associations of sovereign states within a certain area for a joint purpose, which should not be offensive in nature, in relation to that area". The Commonwealth of Nations defines it as "a voluntary association of former British colonies".

Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter clearly states the ideologies and values of the regional organisation and these are:

- To deal with issues that border on international peace and security in as much as any decision to be taken are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nation (UN).
- To settle local disputes through regional agencies before they are referred to the Security Council of the UN.
- The Security Council may in turn utilise such agencies for the settlement of local disputes.
- With the exception of any action against an enemy resulting from World War II, no enforcement action shall be taken by any regional agencies without the permission of the Security Council.
- The Security Council shall be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or contemplated by regional agencies for the maintenance of peace and security.

Find below, a summary of the features of the AU, Arab League and EU;

The African Union

Based on the need to fashion the defunct organisation of African Unity to meet emergent global challenges, the OAU Foreign Ministers meeting of 2000 adopted the advice of the former Ghanaian president, Jerry Rawlings “to elaborate the framework of a successor institution to the present continental organisation which would ensure greater unity and solidarity as well as free expression of the political will of African peoples, and lay the foundation for coordinated efforts towards accelerated development”. This challenge encouraged the establishment of the African Union. The objectives of the Union as stated in Article 3 of the constitutive act of the Union:

- Achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa
- Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states
- Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent
- Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples
- Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent
- Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance
- Promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments
- Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations
- Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies
- Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples
- Coordinate and harmonise policies between existing and future regional economic communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union
- Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology
- Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

The Arab League

The Arab League was formed in Cairo on 22 March 1945 with six members: Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan (renamed Jordan after 1946), Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Yemen became a member in May, 1945. These seven Arab states were all formerly subject to the Ottoman Empire and became independent after the defeat of Turkey during World War I. In their intention, the Arab League wanted to strengthen the links among the members and to further the joint interests of all Arab nations. From 1953 onwards, other regions still under colonial control were welcome to join after attaining independence. At the Cairo summit of 1964, the Arab League initiated the creation of an organisation representing the Palestinian people. The first Palestinian National Council convened in East Jerusalem on 29 May 1964. The Palestinian Liberation organisation was founded during this meeting on 2 June 1964 and in 1976 PLO was accepted as a member of the league. The succession of wars in the Middle East in the past half century, from the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 to the Gulf War in 1991, have placed several strains on the league and prevented it from achieving cohesion. Egypt breaks ranks in 1979 by signing a peace treaty with Israel, resulting in expulsion from the league and the moving of the headquarters from Cairo to Tunis. Egypt was readmitted in 1989, and the headquarters returned to Cairo in 1990. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 caused an even deeper rift, reflected in the fact that nearly all the neighbouring Arab states gave either practical or diplomatic support to the UN and NATO against Iraq during the Gulf War. At the Beirut Summit on March 28, 2002 the League adopted the Arab Peace Initiative, a Saudi-inspired peace plan for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The initiative offered full normalisation of the relations with Israel. In exchange, Israel was demanded to withdraw from all occupied territories, including the Golan Heights, to recognise an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital, as well as a “just solution” for the Palestinian refugees. The Peace Initiative was again endorsed at 2007 in the Riyadh Summit. In July 2007, the Arab league sent a mission, consisting of the Jordanian and Egyptian foreign ministers, to Israel to promote the initiative. The processes of the Arab league are based on principles that support and promote a unified Arab nationalism among the members. The Charter of the Arab league endorsed the principle of an Arab homeland while respecting the sovereignty of the individual member states. The internal regulations of the Council of the League and the committees were agreed in October 1951. Since then, governance of the Arab League has been based on the duality of supra-national institutions and the sovereignty of the member states. Preservation of individual statehood derived its strengths from the natural preference of ruling elites to maintain their power and independence in decision making.

Moreover, the fear of the richer that the poorer may share their wealth in the name of Arab nationalism, the feuds among Arab rulers, and the influence of external powers that might oppose Arab unity can be seen as obstacles towards a deeper integration of the League.

The European Union

The EU is an economic, monetary and political union of 27 member states, committed to regional cooperation and integration. It represents the most advanced form of economic and political integration and cooperation among regional organisations in the world. While the European communities were founded in 1951 and 1957, respectively with the Treaties of Paris (European Coal and Steel Community - ECSC) and Rome (European Economic Community - EEC and Euratom), the EU was established by the Treaty of Maastricht signed in 1992 but entered into force on 1 November 1993 upon the foundations of the pre-existing European Economic Community, plus the political Union and the European Monetary Union (EMU).

The Lisbon Treaty amends the treaty on European Union and the treaty establishing the European Community. It is the latest update that consolidates the EU's legal basis. In this way the EU obtains its own legal personality. The European Union (EU) is founded on the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and on the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) that "has the same legal value" and has replaced and succeeded the European Community. Constitutive values are "the respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities" and they "are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail" (art. 2 TEU). The treaty pledges that the European Union, in order "to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples" will:

- "offer people an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers in which the free movement of persons is ensured in conjunction with appropriate measures with respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention and combating of crime"
- "establish an internal market" and "work for the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress, and a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment"
- "promote scientific and technological advance, combat social exclusion and discrimination and promote social justice and

protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child”

- “promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States”
- “remain committed to an economic and monetary union with the Euro as its currency”
- “uphold and promote the European Union’s values and interests in the wider world and contribute to the protection of its citizens, peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, and the eradication of poverty”
- “contribute to the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter”.

The Lisbon treaty states that “the functioning of the Union shall be founded on representative democracy” and “citizens are directly represented at union level in the European Parliament”, while “member states are represented in the European Council by their heads of state or government and in the council by their governments, themselves democratically accountable either to their national Parliaments, or to their citizens”. Moreover, the treaty declares that “every citizen shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union” and “decisions shall be taken as openly and as closely as possible to the citizen”. Finally, “political parties at European level contribute to forming European political awareness and to expressing the will of citizens of the Union” (art. 10 TEU).

3.1.2 The Universal Organisation

This is a type of organisation that accommodates membership from all over the world, and with the sole purpose of ensuring mutual satisfaction for the needs of the members across a broad spectrum of interests. These organisations, for instance, the UN, WHO, etc. have members across all the regions of the globe. These kinds of organisations can be categorised into two:

- The multi-purpose global organisation: this is an all-embracing organisation, groups whose functions are in no way limited to one single function; UN

- The single-purpose global organisation: These are organisations that perform single roles and have specific areas of specialisation; WHO, IMF.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has provided enlightenment in respect of the importance of non-state intergovernmental actors in international relations. Basically therefore, the activities of these organisations are relevant in determining the course of global political agenda, because they act as tools for fostering world and regional peace.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, this unit has been an exposition on the relevance of intergovernmental non-state actors in international relations. It commenced with the definition and roles of this important actor, the unit also explains the two types of intergovernmental non-state actors (regional and the universal), and finally explains the categorisation of the global non-intergovernmental state actor.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Define international organisation.
- List and explain the different types of international organisations described in this unit
- List five objectives each of the AU and EU.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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See: The Constitutive Act of the African Union

See: Treaty on European Union

UNIT 3 NON- INTERGOVERNMENTAL NON –STATE ACTORS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit is the third in the series of units dealing with the actors in the international system. The set of actors treated here are those that though have influences on the international system and by extension, states behaviour, but are not representatives of government. These are international actors that are not intergovernmental in nature and processes, therefore they do not represent the interest of any government, and rather they are more particular about the interest of the different groups they represent.

State actors are complemented by non- state actors. These non- state actors help establish cordial international relationships among states. There are basically two types of non-inter-governmental non-state actors and these are:

- International non-profit organisations: International Olympic Committee and the International Red Cross
- International corporations The Coca-cola Company, Toyota, Sony and Samsung

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- describe the importance of non-state, non-governmental actors in international relations
- articulate the contributions of non-state, non-governmental actors to the course of international relations.

3.1.1 Multinational Corporations

These are also referred to as transnational corporations. Multinational corporations or enterprises are companies that produce and distribute goods and services in more than one country. A corporation that has its facilities and other assets in at least one country other than its home country, such companies have offices and/or factories in different countries and usually have a centralised head office where they co-ordinate global management. Very large multinationals have budgets that exceed those of many small countries.

Multinational corporations have been described as the “first institution in human history dedicated to centralised planning on a world scale.” Here, the major players are the “host countries” and the “parent countries.” The host countries are the developing states and the “third world” countries while the parent countries are the developed states where the company headquarters are situated. The multinational enterprises maintain the autonomy of power through an existing structured centralised system. This centralised system of operation is maintained through the present hierarchal structure where decisions are made in the parent countries and regular reports are also sent for assessment and reviews.

There are four main types of corporations and they are the:

- Extractive multinational corporation
- Agricultural multinational corporation
- Service multinational corporation
- Industrial multinational corporation

The extractive multinational corporation: are into the extraction of mineral resources from land and from sea. They extract these mineral resources and convert them into finished products.

The agricultural multinational corporation: plant seeds, harvest the crops and process as food. They also harvest wood and turn into finished products such as paper and furniture.

The service multinational corporation: are service providers.

The industrial multinational corporation: manage, manufacture and distribute, automobiles, airplanes, home appliances, computers just to mention a few. The 1950s in political history ushered in the multinational corporation revolution. This period witnessed the growth and development of corporations worldwide. This Revolution also ushered in minimal development for host countries.

Theoretical schools of thought on multinational corporations

There are contending schools of thought on the propriety or otherwise of multinational corporations. These schools of thoughts have concerned their attention on the impact of the operations of multinational corporations in the developing countries of the world. While some of the schools condemn the operations of MNCs, others have applauded same.

These schools of thought together with their various interpretations can be categorized into three and they are:

- The Marxist – Leninist Interpretation
- The Mercantilist Interpretation
- The Liberal Interpretation

The Marxist- Leninist Interpretation

This can also be referred to as the Imperialist interpretation of the role of multinational corporations. The two major sub-players are: the capitalists and the proletariat which are the rich and the poor states. This school of thought argues that the multinational corporations are exploitative platforms through which the unsuspecting proletariat are exploited on a global corporate level.

The mercantilist interpretation

The growth of multinational corporations is an outward reflection of the West's dominance of the world economy. It is argued that the multinational corporations encourage trade and business activities with other countries in order to create wealth in the parent or home country. Robert Gilpin argued that "political values and security interests are the crucial determinants of international economic relations...throughout history; each successive hegemonic power has organised economic space in terms of its own interest and purposes."

The liberal interpretation

Here, the multinational corporations are seen as independent actors and not as an exploitative platform. This school of thought argues that multinational corporations with the technology and labour and overall development can in turn help eradicate poverty in all of its host nations. It is argued that as long as these corporations maintain autonomous control, there will be adequate welfare packages for all players. George Ball, a former undersecretary argued that the "Cosmocorp" which is a multinational corporation "has outgrown the state..." here, these businesses only desire entry into foreign markets. The 'cosmocorps' are the 'globalists' who see the world as described by Peter Drucker "a global shopping centre."

These differing interpretations have however not diminished the importance of multinational corporations in international relations; in fact, they have even become more important as a result of globalisation. In effect, the transformation in telecommunication and transport technology has been useful in enhancing the effectiveness and the overall power of multinational companies. It has been argued that “the rise of the planetary multinational enterprise is producing an organisational revolution as profound in its implications for modern man as the industrial revolution and the rise of the nation state. Specifically, the existence of multinational corporation as a global non-state actor is useful on the basis of the following;

- The creation provides a platform for waiving protectionist policies and high importation tariffs. For instance, most American corporations established European subsidiaries to boycott the high tariffs placed on the importation of goods
- Boycotting these tariffs helps increase the product and service profit margin for foreign investors while creating employment opportunities in these host countries.

3.1.2 The Red Cross Society

The International Committee of the Red Cross Society, a non – governmental organisation was founded in 1863 in Geneva Switzerland by Jean-Henri Dunant. Jean-Henri Dunant in his self-published book titled “**A Memory of Solferino**” asked:

Would it not be possible, in time of peace and quiet, to form relief societies for the purpose of having care given to the wounded in war time by zealous, devoted and thoroughly qualified volunteers?

This non-governmental organisation won the Nobel Peace Prize Award in 1917, 1944 and 1963. There are about 97 million volunteers, members and staff worldwide. Its main focus is to provide humanitarian aid and support for those in need, protect human life and health, ensure the respect for human rights, and prevent and help reduce human suffering, during war help care for the prisoners of war and in peacetime, help care for the victims of man-made and natural disasters. This arm of the organisation has been authorised by the “international humanitarian law to protect the life and dignity of the victims of international and internal armed conflicts”. It is an organisation whose main focus is to provide humanitarian aid and support for those in need; various independent bodies exist within the organisation.

One of the most important arm of the Red Cross, though sharing its principles, ideologies, objectives, symbols and governing organs is the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). The IFRC was formed in 1919. On an international level, the IFRC organises assistant missions responding to large-scale emergencies, this body exists in most countries. Each branch works as an autonomous body in the host country but still respects the tenets of the international humanitarian law. In most countries they assist the available health care services to provide emergency medical assistance when help is needed. There are currently 186 recognised National Societies.

The importance of the Red Cross society as a global brand committed to the plight of the wounded, distressed, victims of emergency and both natural and man-made disasters cannot be overemphasised. The Red Cross continually gets involved in conflicts all over the world, not as belligerents, but as an organisation responsible for taking care of humanitarian conditions that are the fall-outs of crisis. The mandate of Red Cross gives the organisation the opportunity to participate in negotiations, debates and such other forms of activities to ensure peaceful coexistence in the world.

3.1.3 The Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church has been categorised as the oldest non-governmental organisation in the world, with a population of 1.81 billion in 2009 according to the statistics published in the new *Annuario Pontificio*. To effectively propagate the gospel, the church has learned the tactics of peaceful co-existence with other faiths and government. The church has evolved both as a religious and political institution and its influence on promoting world peace can hardly be questioned. In 1979, during the late Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland, the government was concerned and swayed by the huge crowd that gathered to welcome the Pope. The Catholic Church condemns poverty, oppression and the violation of human rights in every part of the world, but especially the Third World Countries. The church has also condemned the use of nuclear weapons and appealed to the developed world to help alleviate poverty in the developing worlds. In essence, the Catholic Church has a strong voice in global political, economic and social conditions. The Pope, the leader of the Catholic church and a highly respected world leader has severally made pronouncements regarding political conditions in countries all over the world, and also equally be involved in the negotiation of freedom of political prisoners in different parts of the world.

In effect therefore, the sheer population, cutting across continents, races, sexes, ages and regions of the world make it imperative for giving deserved attention to the position of the Catholic church in international politics.

3.1.4 Terrorist Groups

Terrorism is turning out as the most vicious, destructive and dangerous activity that a group can inflict on the system in contemporary international relations. A terrorist group or organisation is a political movement that uses terror as a weapon to achieve its goals and objectives. This kind of organisation thus engages in terrorist activities or terrorism. According to the United States Department of Defence, terrorism is “the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological”. Similarly, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as: “unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives”. Robert Pillars’ definition captures the whole gamut of the activities of terrorist groups. According to the author: “Terrorism is fundamentally different from these other forms of violence, however, in what gives rise to it and in how it must be countered, beyond simple physical security and police techniques. Terrorists’ concerns are macro concerns about changing a larger order; other violent criminals are focused on the micro level of pecuniary gain and personal relationships. ‘Political’ in this regard encompasses not just traditional left-right politics but also what are frequently described as religious motivations or social issues” (Laquer, 1977).

The activities of modern terrorist groups can be traced to 1793 during the reign of Maxmilien Robespierre. His philosophy was, “subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right as founders of liberty”. Thus, intimidation begets freedom. His views and actions laid the foundation for modern terrorism. Now terrorist groups believe that sadism and cruelty will usher in their preferred political, economic and social system. They also set out to accomplish their set goals by terrifying groups who do not support their philosophy and thus attack the symbols of the “heretics”. They destroy symbols and replicas and murder people that represent that which they oppose. For example the September 11 Attack in the US and the activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Terrorist groups can be identified by the form of their activities, and often times, the comments they make after inflicting destruction on the populace or the symbols they represent.

The organisational structure of a group determines its strengths and weaknesses. A general knowledge of the prevalent models of terrorist organisations leads to a better understanding of their capabilities. Knowledge of the different labels and systems of classification that have been applied to groups and individuals aid us in discarding useless or irrelevant terms, and in determining the purpose and usefulness of each terminology.

In recent times, the popular image of a terrorist group operating according to a specific political agenda and motivated by ideology or the desire for ethnic or national liberation dominated our understanding of terrorism. While still true of some terrorist organisations, this image is no longer universally valid. Also, a generational change in leadership of established groups is in many cases ushering in a more a destructive and relentless type of organisation.

There are two general categories of organisation; *hierarchical* and *networked*. The age of an organisation is one of the determinants of whether it is likely to adopt a network or hierarchical structure. Newer groups tend towards organising or adapting to the possibilities inherent in the network model. Ideology can have an effect on internal organisation, with strict Leninist or Maoist groups tending towards centralised control and hierarchical structure. Within the larger structure, virtually all groups use variants of cellular organisations at the tactical level.

Terrorist groups that are associated with a political activity or organisation will often require a more hierarchical structure, in order to coordinate terrorist violence with political action. It also can be necessary for a politically affiliated group to observe “cease-fires” or avoid particular targets in support of political objectives. This can be difficult to enforce in networked organisations.

Terrorist groups can be at various stages of development in terms of capabilities and sophistication. Newer groups with fewer resources will usually be less capable, and operate in permissive areas or under the tutelage of more proficient organisations to develop proficiency. Also, groups professing or associated with ethnic or nationalist agendas and limiting their operations to one country or a localised region tend to require fewer capabilities. Groups can coalesce from smaller organisations, or splinter off from larger ones.

The groups can be categorised into the following:

- The ethnocentric groups: identity driven
- The nationalistic groups: some freedom fighters employed terrorist tactics

- The revolutionary groups: seeking transformation of an order
- The political groups: politically motivated
- The religious groups: deep-seated religious inclinations
- The social groups: seeking forceful change of the social order
- The domestic groups: internal agitations and antagonisms
- The transnational groups: trans-border activities

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has been an expose on the contributions of non-state, non-intergovernmental actors in the international system. The unit explains their relevance and importance to international relations. Of all the actors examined, terrorist groups are the only violent actor, and the amorphous character of terrorism makes it a major threat to global peace and security.

5.0 SUMMARY

It is now clear that even though all parties are separate entities, all contribute in one way or the other to development of states and consequently to both the even and uneven distribution of wealth, and world peace. Non – state actors especially the non-governmental organisations through mediations act as important catalysts to peace – building and peace-keeping nationally and internationally. Other non-state actors are equally relevant and participate in directing the course of international affairs, but the roles move from the violent to the peaceful.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. List and state the non-intergovernmental non-state actors discussed in this unit.
- ii. What are the defining features of these non-intergovernmental non-state actors?

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UNIT 4 INTERNATIONAL PERSONALITIES

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Papacy
 - 3.2 The US Presidency
 - 3.3 The British Crown
 - 3.4 UN Secretary-General
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit studies the roles of personalities who by virtue of their official positions continue to have impact on the course of international relations. The offices impose strong power on the individuals occupying the position. The unit would therefore dissect the impact of the Pope, US president and the British queen on international relations through their actions and utterances. It would be observed that the underlining intentions of these offices remain the maintenance of a just, fair and equitable world.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- analyse the impact of each office on the course of international relations
- compare the impact of this category of non-state actors with other non-state actors
- describe the extent to which idiosyncratic tendencies have impacted on the influence of each of the offices.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1. The Papacy

The papacy is the official seat of the Pope. It has a very long history of deep spiritual and religious power. It is the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope is the Bishop of the Roman Catholic community in Rome and the overall leader of the Catholic Church

worldwide. With over a billion Catholics spread across the length and breadth of the world, the Pope's power has exceeded the spiritual and religious, and has fundamentally become political. The Pope traverses the world like a colossus and he is given the respect accorded heads of state and government. Although personal idiosyncrasies usually impacts on the visibility of the Pope, the influence of a Pope has never whittled.

There are claims that the first Pope was Pope Marcellinus (340AD) while others counter this by claiming that the position of the Pope only became recognised in the 6th century and Pope John I was the first Pope (523-6AD). The incumbent Pope is Pope Benedict XVI who was elected at The Sistine Chapel during a closed door meeting called The Conclave in 2005 through the votes by ballot of the Sacred College of Cardinals (cardinals below the age of 80). This ballot style was enforced by the late Pope John Paul II (Sullivan, 2001).

The Pope is the head of the Vatican state, supposedly an appointed man of God with religious and political roles. His religious roles form his principal and primary functions which are the ecclesiastical jurisdiction also called the "Holy See" or the "Apostolic See". The Pope because of his position occupies one of the most influential seats in the world and the global Catholic community respect and see him as the successor to Peter. The Pope through the Church pioneered and contributed to the spread of Christianity, Pope Pius XII, also participated albeit passively during the Holocaust. During the Middle Ages the Pope through dialogues and interferences helped evade wars; they also acted as mediators between the monarchs and the people (the government and the citizenry).

In the modern days, the Papacy has been involved with the protection of human and individual rights, voluntary and charitable works, evangelical works and the propagation of the Gospel. Protestants and non-Catholics in general fail to recognise the office of the Pope for according to them, the New Testaments fails to make mention of the Papacy nor Peter as the Pope, yet the office of the Pope remains very influential.

Historians counter Protestant criticisms by stating that Father Irenaeus in 180AD wrote a letter which singled out Peter as the one who started the church in Rome. The Pope's official Cathedral is the Basilica of St. John Lateran and his residence is the palace of the Vatican. He performs both worldly and spiritual roles. Between 1560 and 1648, the Pope established the Catholic reformation. Through this establishment the Pope was able to orient the populace, and counter the Protestant reformers views that the Pope was anti-Christ and the office of The Pope was corrupt. The pastoral constitution stated the roles and functions of

the church and by extension, the Pope, he stated “that the church shared the joy and hope, the grief and anguish of contemporary humanity, particularly of the poor and afflicted”.

It also treated areas such marriage and family, cultural, social economic life and political community, war and peace and international relations”. American representatives were also invited to sit at the council meetings and they influenced the council and their declaration of universal religious freedom. Mark Armstrong clearly states the role and position of the church when he said that “religious institutions play only a modest, indirect role in the development and implementation of foreign policy” (Lang, 2002). But as moral teachers and bearers of ethical traditions, religious communities can help to structure debate and illuminate relevant moral norms. They can help to develop and sustain political morality by promoting moral reasoning and by exemplifying values and behaviours that are conducive to human dignity.

The pope and the church offer religious platforms for the analyses that directly affect mankind. Some of these issues are human right (the violation and protection), poverty and war just to mention a few. In the early 1990s, the United States Catholic community called on their government to help avert conflicts and stop conflict in nations experiencing conflicts through humanitarian intervention. It is important to note that it was Pope John XXIII that helped to shift the focus of the church from been protecting only the rights of Catholics and their institutions to supporting the rights of different people and trying in every way to remain unbiased. His words sent in sparks of revolution, for instance Pope John Paul II in his 1979 speech in Warsaw publicly condemned Eastern Europe Communist policies. In 1968, Latin American Bishops unified their condemnatory tone against the injustice meted out on the poor condemned the discriminatory and highly – classed society, and adopting a “preferential option” for the proletariat.

In 1999, U.S.A Bishops spoke about global economic issue. In a statement titled “A Jubilee Call for Debt Forgiveness” where they talked extensively about charity. By talking about charity, they were asking for debt reduction or cancellation, appealing to sentiments rather than to judging and analysing issues justly. In 1943, the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) was created in order to care for those affected by the impacts of the World War II. Today, it provides relief services for impoverished nations in the world, it is important to note that the main challenge that the Church faces is the fact that it is not a global organisation, and they are either non-existent in some countries or they form the minority group in countries that are experiencing conflicts.

3.2 The US Presidency

The US president is the head of the United States of America and the incumbent president is Barack Obama. The office of the president is an influential seat and the president is a major catalyst in defining and determining the relationship that should exist between nations. The official residence of the president is the White House. The US constitution absolves the president and makes him the commander-in-chief of the American armed forces and it also gives him power to sign treaties. The presidents pursue their policies through various medium and some of them are diplomatic relations with other states- the State Department ensures this. America also voices her opinions about issues through the UN, makes donations to the World Bank for financing and sponsoring development and reconstruction. The International Monetary Fund was established in 1944 to help stabilise world currencies and lends money to needy nations.

The US presidency is the epicentre of US foreign relations; thus, the president drives the foreign-policy of the states towards achieving the principles and objectives of the national interest. The officially stated goals of the foreign policy of the United States, as mentioned in the foreign policy agenda of the [U.S. department of State](#), are "to create a more secure, democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community". In addition, the [United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs](#) states as some of its jurisdictional goals: "export controls, including non-proliferation of nuclear technology and nuclear hardware; measures to foster commercial intercourse with foreign nations and to safeguard [American business](#) abroad; [international commodity agreements](#); international education; and protection of American citizens abroad and [expatriation](#)". Subject to the advice and consent role of the [U.S. Senate](#), the [president of the United States](#) negotiates treaties with foreign nations, but treaties enter into force only if ratified by two-thirds of the Senate.

The president is also [commander in chief](#) of the [United States armed forces](#), and as such has broad authority over the armed forces; however only congress has authority to declare war, and the civilian and military budget is written by the congress. The [United States Secretary of State](#) is the [foreign minister](#) of the United States and is the primary conductor of state-to-state diplomacy. Both the secretary of state and ambassadors are appointed by the president, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Congress also has power to regulate commerce with foreign nations. All of these ensure that the president of the United States must lead the state's global adventure.

The main trend regarding the history of U.S. foreign policy since the American revolution is the shift from [non-interventionism](#) before and

after [World War I](#), to its growth as a world power and global [hegemony](#) during and since World War II and the end of the [Cold War](#) in the 20th century. Since the 19th century, US foreign policy also has been characterised by a shift from the [Realist school](#) to the Idealistic or [Wilsonian](#) school of international relations. After the end of the Second World-War, the US international profile became further enlarged.

3.3 The British Crown

The monarchy is the “raft of people who are paid out of the civil list”. Structuralist Marxism argue that the monarchy symbolises an “ideological state apparatus” through which stability is retained while the elite theorist claims that the monarchy represents the elites whose presence invariably help to define and sustain the classed society. The British monarchy is over 1195 years old and it and the parliament are the main ingredients of British sovereignty. The monarch and in this case, the queen is the head of state of the armed forces. It ascertains its relevance through the allegiance oath taken by the judiciary and the armed forces as both swear allegiance not to the state but to the crown. Before the 18th century, the British ruler had legislative and executive powers but things changed in the 18th century during the reign of queen Victoria.

From then on, the queen became a constitutional monarch. This is however mainly a symbolic and ceremonial post as they are advised by the executive arm of the government. The monarchy however maintains the power to declare war, make peace, impeach and select a prime minister, appoint judges, magistrates and councillors. The royal family and the queen also usually act as patrons of non-governmental, voluntary and charitable organisations. Of Tony Blair stated during the Jubilee celebration that the queen who is also the monarch “adapted the monarchy successfully to the modern world”. The present head of the British empire is queen Elizabeth II, who was crowned on the 6th February, 1952. She has the sole responsibility of overseeing the affairs of the United Kingdom and its territories worldwide. She and the royal family are saddled with official, ceremonial and representational duties. The queen’s roles are dictated, controlled and limited by the British constitution although it is important to state that the queen is committed to public duty and service. The monarchy also upholds the British culture and tradition; decency, respectability and stability just to mention a few. The queen appoints the prime minister and bestows honours on worthy and deserving citizens.

The British crown can be traced back to 1000 with the evolvement of the kingdoms of England and Scotland. It should be noted that The Act of Settlement 1701 excluded Roman Catholics by birth or through marriage from the royal lineage. In 1707, there was the amalgamation of

the kingdoms of England and Scotland and this fusion led to the creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain and in 1801, the kingdom of Ireland was fused with the Kingdom of Great Britain and this led to the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the 1920s, a vast majority of Irish states broke away from the kingdom and went ahead to form the Irish Free States and after the second World War, most of the erstwhile colonies and territories gained independence, after this, Queen Elizabeth II adopted the title head of the Commonwealth. This however is only a ceremonial title. The monarch also plays a constitutionally approved role in the church and in this case, the incumbent queen, Queen Elizabeth II acts as the governor of the Church. The queen and prime minister play a ceremonial role in the appointment of the archbishops and bishops in England.

Indeed, the British crown has been one of the most important non-state actor in both the ancient and the modern world. Being the head of the British Empire, the monarch is accorded the highest respect possible by the British public, but what is however puzzling is that the international community equally accords the British crown the best form of respect ever possible. This is not unconnected to the great strides that Britain had made in the 19th century through the colonisation of territories all over the world. This makes the British Empire or colonised territories extend to every part of the globe; Africa, America, Asia, Oceania, etc. Britain colonised the US, Australia, New Zealand, India, and numerous countries in Africa (Levine, 2007). Most of these countries gained independence and became members of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth of Nations is led by, and exists on the goodwill of the British crown.

Quite a number of British colonies, even after independence ceremonially respects and accords ceremonial roles to the British monarch. In this respect we have Australia, New Zealand, and Nigeria until 1963. This translates to the fact that the importance of the British monarch transcends the United Kingdom. Though may not be as powerful as it was in the earlier centuries but yet still commands immense respect both in and outside of Britain. This respect is even more glaring on states and official visits, and also in the yearly meetings of the Commonwealth Head of State and government meetings. By extension therefore, the position of the British monarchy on issue of relevance to the international system is very important and regarded with utmost respect by states and other non-state actors.

3.4 UN Secretary-General

The secretary-general of the United Nations is the head of the secretariat of the august organisation. The occupier of the office can be regarded as

the number one public-servant in the world. He represents the views of not just a country, but the combination of the views of all the membership of the UN. In essence, the secretary-general speaks for the world. He is expected to represent the ideals upon which the UN was founded, that is, to guarantee international peace and security.

The secretary-general was envisioned by US president Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "world moderator," but the vague definition provided by the UN charter left much room for interpretation by those who would later occupy the position. The role is further defined as "diplomat and advocate, civil servant and CEO." Nevertheless, this more abstract description has not prevented the office holders from speaking out and playing important roles on global issues, to various degrees. Article 97 of the UN charter states that the secretary-general shall be the "chief administrative officer" of the organisation, but does not dictate his specific obligations. This provides the required leverage for each individual to stretch his personal abilities to the limits in carrying out the functions of the United Nations.

According to an observer, "The personal skills of the secretary-general and his staff are crucial to their function. The central position of the UN headquarters in the international diplomatic network is also an important asset. The secretary-general has the right to place any dispute on the provisional agenda of the Security Council. However, he works mostly behind the scenes if the members of the council are unwilling to discuss a dispute. Most of his time is spent on good offices missions and mediation, sometimes at the request of deliberative organs of the UN, but also frequently on his own initiative. His function may be frustrated, replaced or supplemented by mediation efforts by the major powers. UN peace-keeping missions are often closely linked to mediation (peace-making). The recent improvement in relations between the permanent members of the Security Council has strengthened the role of the secretary-general as the world's most reputable intermediary".

The list of all UN secretaries-general is presented below:

- Gladwyne Jebb
- Trygve Lie
- Dag Hammarskjöld
- U Thant
- Kurt Waldheim
- Javier Perez de Cuellar
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali
- Kofi Annan
- Ban Ki-Moon

All of these individuals have at various times led the secretariat of the organisation and have worked towards ensuring the continued relevance of the organisation in international relations.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you have learnt about the various personalities and how they help to form and define the types of global relationship that would exist among states globally. In essence therefore, the unit emphasises the fact that the international system exists on the basis of interactions among state and non-state actors (both governmental and non-governmental actors included).

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit studies the various personalities that shape global politics and economy and how their decisions affect the international system. These personalities are however as important to the extent to which the offices they occupy permit. Their impacts extend beyond the borders of specific countries, and include the whole of the globe. Though, the effectiveness of the office may be constrained by the degree of flamboyance displayed by the office-holder, yet the offices remain important to the extent of affecting international relations.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Explain the roles each personality play in defining and determining the relationship that should exist in the global realm.
- ii. To what extent does the office of the US President affect international relations?

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MODULE 4

Unit 1	Political Power
Unit 2	Economic Power
Unit 3	Socio-Cultural Power
Unit 4	Military Power

UNIT 1 POLITICAL POWER

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	What is Political Power?
3.2	Power as Capability
3.3	Soft Power
3.4	Hard Power
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit deals with one of the most essential analytical variables in international relations. It interrogates the meaning of political power as a weapon to be wielded by states in their interactions with one-another. Political power in this sense could be perceived as an abstraction, because a less militarily powerful state may wield enormous political power. Thus, this unit would look deeply into the conditions that may confer political power on a state and how states leverage on such power to achieve the objectives of their national interest.

Essentially therefore, we would be assessing the import of power politics on international relations- the extent to which the political machinations and manoeuvrings of a nation can confer power; influence and authority on such nations and its interactions with the rest of the world. Power politics is taken as a state of [international relations](#) in which [sovereigns](#) protect their own interests by threatening one another with [military](#), [economic](#), or [political](#) aggression. Power politics is invariably a way of understanding the world of international relations: nations compete for the world's resources and it is to a nation's advantage to be manifestly able to harm others, it prioritises national self-interest over the interest of other nations or the [international](#)

[community](#). Techniques of power politics include, but are not limited to, conspicuous [nuclear](#) development, [pre-emptive strike](#), [blackmail](#), the massing of military units on a border, the imposition of [tariffs](#) or [economic sanctions](#), [bait and bleed](#) and bloodletting, [hard](#) and [soft balancing](#), [buck passing](#), [covert operations](#), [shock and awe](#) and [asymmetric warfare](#).

In this unit we are concerned with political power that emanates from established authority that gives the right to command and the duty to obey. Power should be seen as a relationship among nations not a characteristic, or quality.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning of political power
- describe the processes of obtaining political power
- examine the relationship between international politics and political power.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 What is Political Power?

Before we talk about political power, first let's first conceptualise what we mean by power. Power is very fundamental to political analysis. Power as a concept, has many different meanings to different people thus making it very difficult to define.

However, power can generally be described as the ability to influence other states to do what state 'A' wants and to prevent them from doing same to state 'A'. One is able to exert power over others through the possession of means of sanctions or rewards. Having power allows nations to pursue and protect their interests and to control the actions of others.

Contemporary discourses generally speak in terms of state power, indicating both economic and military power. Those states that have significant amounts of power within the international system are referred to as [middle powers](#), [regional powers](#), [great powers](#), [superpowers](#), or [hyperpowers/hegemony](#), although there is no commonly accepted standard for what defines a powerful state.

[Political scientists](#) principally use "power" in terms of an actor's ability to exercise [influence](#) over other actors within the [international system](#).

This influence can be [coercive](#), attractive, [cooperative](#), or [competitive](#). Mechanisms of influence can include the threat or use of force, economic interaction or pressure, diplomacy, and cultural exchange. All of these are politically motivated. According to Freeman (1997), “power is the capacity to direct the decisions and actions of others. Power derives from strength and will. Strength comes from the transformation of resources into capabilities; will infuse objectives with resolve. Strategy marshals capabilities and brings them to bear with precision. Statecraft seeks through strategy to magnify the mass, relevance, impact, and irresistibility of power. It guides the ways the state deploys and applies its power abroad. These ways embrace the arts of war, espionage, and diplomacy. The practitioners of these three arts are the paladins of statecraft”. In order to be able to wield remarkable political influence, states cooperate with others to carve spheres of influences and create blocs and alliances.

Spheres, blocs, and alliances

Under certain circumstances, states can organise a sphere of influence or a bloc within which they exercise predominant influence. Historical examples include the spheres of influence recognised under the concert of Europe, or the recognition of spheres during the Cold War following the Yalta Conference. The Warsaw Pact, the "Free World", and the Non-Aligned Movement were the blocs that arose out of the Cold War contest. Military alliances like NATO and the Warsaw pact are another forum through which influence is exercised. However, "Realist" theory often attempts to stay away from the creation of powerful blocs/spheres that can create a hegemony within the region.

The political power of a state can also arise on the basis of the military victories that were achieved in the past. Thus, a state that has achieved a string of combat victories in a military campaign against other states can be described as powerful. An actor that has succeeded in protecting its security, [sovereignty](#), or strategic interests from repeated or significant challenge can also be described as powerful. Hence, such state-actor would wield commensurable political influence in international politics.

3.2 Power as Capability

Power is also used to describe the resources and capabilities of a state. This definition is quantitative and is most often used by geopoliticians and the military. Capabilities are thought of in tangible terms- they are measurable, weighable, quantifiable assets. Thomas Hobbes spoke of power as a "present means to obtain some future apparent good." Hard power can be treated as a potential and is not often enforced on the international stage. In this respect, two types of political power can be

identified: hard and soft power. The former is coercive, while the latter is attractive.

Hard power refers to coercive tactics: the threat or use of [armed forces](#), [economic](#) pressure or [sanctions](#), assassination and subterfuge, or other forms of intimidation. Hard power is generally associated with the stronger of nations, as the ability to change the domestic affairs of other nations through military threats. Realists and neorealists are advocates of the use of such power for the balancing of the international system. On the other hand, soft power refers to the process of attaining international influence without recourse to violence. [Joseph Nye](#) is the leading proponent and theorist of soft power. Instruments of soft power include debates on cultural values, dialogues on ideology, the attempt to influence through good example, and the appeal to commonly accepted human values. Means of exercising soft power include diplomacy, dissemination of information, analysis, propaganda, and cultural programming to achieve political ends.

In the modern geopolitical landscape, a number of terms are used to describe various types of powers, which include the following:

- Superpower: can be described as "great power plus great mobility of power". The United States is currently considered a superpower with China, India and the European Union being potential superpowers.
- Great power: In historical mentions, the term great power refers to any nation that has strong political, cultural and economic influence over nations around it and across the world. China, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States are often considered to be current great powers.
- Regional power: used to describe a nation that exercises influence and power within a region. Being a regional power is not mutually exclusive with any of the other categories of power. Many countries are often described as regional powers, among those are India, South Africa, Israel, South Korea, Brazil, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey.
- Middle power: a subjective description of second-tier influential states that could not be described as great powers.
- [Energy superpower](#): describes a country that has immense influence or even direct control over much of the world's energy supplies. [Saudi Arabia](#) and [Russia](#), possibly [Canada](#) and [Australia](#) are generally acknowledged as the world's current energy superpowers,

given their abilities to globally influence or even directly control prices to certain countries.

- Cultural/Entertainment Superpower: describes a country which has immense influence or even direct control over much of the world's entertainment or has an immense large cultural influence on much of the world. Although this is debated on who meets such criteria, many agree that the [United Kingdom](#), [United States](#), [France](#), [India](#) and [Japan](#) are generally acknowledged as the entertainment and cultural superpowers, given their abilities to distribute their entertainment and cultural innovations worldwide.

3.3 Soft Power

Soft power is the ability of a state to achieve its desires through [co-option](#) and attraction. It can be contrasted with '[hard power](#)', that is the use of coercion and payment (Nye, 2004). Soft power can be wielded not just by states but also by all actors in international politics, such as NGOs or international institutions. The primary currencies of soft power are an actor's values, culture, policies and institutions- and the extent to which these "primary currencies", are able to attract or repel other actors to "want what you want".

In any discussion of power, it is important to distinguish behaviour (affecting others to obtain the preferred outcomes) from the resources that may (or may not) produce those outcomes. Sometimes actors with more power resources are not able to get the outcomes they wish. Power is a relationship between an agent and a subject of power, and that relationship will vary with different situations. Meaningful statements about power must always specify the context in which the resources may (or may not) be converted into behaviour.

Soft power is not merely non-traditional forces such as cultural and commercial goods, as this confuses the resources that may produce behaviour with the behaviour itself- what Steven Lukes calls the "vehicle fallacy." Neither is it the case that all non-military actions are forms of soft power, as certain non-military actions, such as economic sanctions, are clearly intended to coerce and is thus a form of hard power.

That said, military force can sometimes contribute to soft power. Dictators like [Adolf Hitler](#) and [Joseph Stalin](#) cultivated myths of invincibility and inevitability to structure expectations and attract others to join them. A well-run military can be a source of attraction, and military-to-military cooperation and training programs, for example, can establish transnational networks that enhance a country's soft power.

[Napoleon I](#)'s image as a great general and military hero arguably attracted much of the foreign aristocracy to him. Likewise, [first deputy chairman Anastas Mikoyan](#) of the [USSR](#) was praised in 1959 for an informal diplomatic tour of the USA that successfully relied more on charming the American public than bargaining with the [White House](#) to ease international tensions. The impressive job of the American military in providing humanitarian relief after the [Indian Ocean tsunami](#) and the South Asian earthquake in 2005 helped restore the attractiveness of the United States. Of course, misuse of military resources can also undercut soft power. The [Soviet Union](#) had a great deal of soft power in the years after [World War II](#), but it destroyed it by the way that they used their hard power against [Hungary](#) and [Czechoslovakia](#), just as military actions by America in the [Middle East](#) undercut its soft power.

3.4 Hard Power

This describes [political power](#) obtained from the use of military and/or economic coercion to influence the behaviour or interests of other political bodies. As the name would suggest, this form of political power is often aggressive, and is most effective when imposed by one political body upon another of lesser military and/or economic power. Hard power is a theory that describes using [military](#) and [economic](#) means to influence the behaviour or interests of other political bodies. It is used in contrast to [soft power](#), which refers to power that comes from [diplomacy](#), [culture](#) and [history](#).

While the existence of hard power has a long history, the term arose when [Joseph Nye](#) coined 'soft power' as a new and different form of power in a [sovereign state](#)'s foreign policy. Hard power lies at the command. Hegemony ends of the spectrum of behaviours and describes a [nation](#)'s ability to coerce or induce another nation to perform a course of action. This can be done through [military power](#) which consists of [coercive diplomacy](#), [war](#) and [alliance](#) using threats and force with the aim of coercion, [deterrence](#) and protection. Alternatively [economic power](#) which relies on [aid](#), [bribes](#) and [economic sanctions](#) can be used in order to induce and coerce.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has critically examined the meaning of the concept of power as a political tool in international relations. In this respect, we have been able to analyse the various dimensions of political power and its impact on the conduct of international relations. Political power is essential and effective to the extent that the state can use it to achieve its aims and objectives without firing a shot. The use of political power can be found in its ability to support the objectives of the state effectively.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, it is made clear that the possession of political power could very much guarantee the attainment of a state's national interest. The unit interrogates the contentious issue of political power at the international arena, thereby presenting the various forms of power capabilities that exist today. In the final analysis, the importance of soft and hard power is stressed, as nations jostle to attain their national objectives.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Critically examine the concept of political power as it pertains to international relations.
- ii. Explain how the political power of a nation can be determined.
- iii. Differentiate between hard power and soft power.
- iv. Differentiate between middle-power and super-power.

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UNIT 2 ECONOMIC POWER

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall be examining the import of the possession of economic power in contemporary international relations. This is on the basis of the importance of economic power as a tool of engagement in inter-state relations. Furthermore, the level of economic power is a significant variable in the maintenance of international peace, harmony and security. Thus, the unit would investigate the role of economic power in the assessment of the living conditions and the well being of the people. The wealth of a nation gives it a leverage as well as bargaining power in the world system. It also serves as the foundation for the armaments industry and is heavily relied upon during war. A state's political power is heavily reliant on its economic base.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning of 'economic power'
- distinguish between globalisation and economic power
- identify the limitations of economic power
- explain the indices for measuring economic power.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 What is Economic Power?

There is a general belief that the 21st century is characterised by the notion that economic power is an important strategic asset. But what is economic power? How is it changing? And how can it be measured? Economic power can broadly be defined as the ability of state 'A' to control or influence the behaviour of other states through deliberate and politically motivated use of economic assets. It is the power to produce and to trade what one has produced. Economic power implies that a state is in a position to use, offer, or withhold such assets even when they are in private hands. For example, by mandating trade embargoes or imposing controls on exports to targeted countries. In fact, the exercise of economic power may well have economic costs because almost by definition it entails interfering with decisions made for economic reasons.

Economic power can also be thought of as the ability to resist external control or influence because dependence on external suppliers is sufficient enough to preclude a vulnerability to outside pressure. The United States for instance imports about two thirds of its oil from foreign sources and is thus vulnerable to oil exporters as a group, although not any single country could alter US foreign-policy on the basis of its economic strength. But what is sometimes forgotten is that sellers need markets. If the United States were to significantly reduce its appetite for foreign oil, it will gain relative economic power over its suppliers. Persuading others to establish a 'customer cartel', as some have suggested would have an even greater effect on the balance on economic power.

An extreme example of the ability to resist external control is economic self sufficiency. Certain great empires of history such as imperial China, were almost entirely self sufficient. But in today's world, the pursuit of economic self sufficiency results in lower levels of technology and productivity and a greater degree of poverty than would otherwise be the case (North Korea is a perfect example). If market forces are allowed to operate, some countries will be more self sufficient than others, but none will be completely self sufficient in all sectors. This re-echoes the interdependent nature of the contemporary state-system; no nation can provide all of its own needs, hence, the need for global interactions.

It is worthy of note that in international relations, economic power begets political power. The economic power of a state has often been used as an instrument to punish other states. Whenever a nation-state behaves in a way that violates international norms, a common response

by some states is to discontinue trade relations or impose economic sanctions on the offending state. The United States and Russia leads the world in coal, steel, crude oil and electricity production. The possession of these resources provides wide leverage for these two countries to dominate international relations of the contemporary era.

From the point of view of power relations, industrialised states are in a much better position than others. They can supply more weapons for their armies and more goods for their people. The enormous oil resources of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have given them a powerful policy weapon as was shown by the diplomatic result of their oil embargo against the United States in 1973-1974. Nigeria's oil wealth was also used as a potential weapon of diplomacy in international politics as demonstrated in Nigeria's role in Southern Africa under the Mohammed/Obasanjo regime. With the immense resources accruing to government from the sale of crude and refined oil, Nigeria was able to pursue a vigorous and vibrant foreign-policy in the Southern-Africa sub-region, to the extent that the country was endowed with the title of a frontline state.

In essence therefore, it is safe to surmise that the adequate use of natural resources, which are readily accessible for exploitation and the required plant system necessary for transforming the natural resources into commercial and military goods, add considerably to the power of a country.

3.2 Globalisation and Economic Power

Throughout much of recorded history, the assets associated with economic power consisted primarily of land, natural resources, and the ability to spend more than one's adversaries on weapons and wars. In a global economy, these elements, while still important contribute less to overall economic power than what societies and states can create for themselves; sound financial and macroeconomic policies, an educated and adaptable work force, market based competition, a supportive infrastructure (including transportation, communication and energy distribution) and a stable and welcoming investment climate backed by good governance and predictable policies. These self-created assets virtually guarantee a competitive niche in the global economy. They fuelled the remarkable performance of Japan and the "Four Tigers" (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) during the 1970s and 1980s. Similarly, the reforms launched by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s transformed China from an autarchic economic backwater to the economic powerhouse it has become today. This was in part due to China-centered production networks and widespread pro-market reforms, Asia has experienced robust growth. Its success should not be

exaggerated; however, the region suffers from a variety of economic, political and demographic weaknesses. It is highly dependent on the global economy and remains vulnerable to internal and external shocks. According to one of the United Nations' economic agencies, globalisation is "a widely-used term that can be defined in a number of different ways. When used in an economic context, it refers to the reduction and removal of barriers between national borders in order to facilitate the flow of goods, capital, services and labour... although considerable barriers remain to the flow of labour... Globalisation is not a new phenomenon. It began towards the end of the 19th century, but it slowed down during the period from the start of the World War I until the third quarter of the 20th century. This slowdown can be attributed to the inward-looking policies pursued by a number of countries in order to protect their respective industries... however, the pace of globalisation picked up rapidly during the fourth quarter of the 20th century...".

Just as globalisation has altered the content and context of economic power, so has it limited the sovereignty associated with it. A single nation has only a partial ability to claim autonomous economic power and to use it unilaterally. China, for instance, still depends heavily on markets in North America, Europe, and Japan. This means that China's national economic power cannot be wielded autonomously and at will because doing so would undermine the economic growth that the Chinese leadership needs to maintain its legitimacy.

Until fairly recently, products were made in one country and sold to customers in another. But thanks to the revolutions in transportation and information technology, most of the world's biggest companies now operate in numerous countries. Although the components of a product may come from multiple sources, that product's label usually records only the point of final assembly and shipment.

The first decade of the 21st century has witnessed a major shift in financial power from the West to other parts of the world, particularly Asia in the guise of globalisation. By allowing for unhindered access through the borders of various countries, the globalised world has ensured that states that could take advantage of the present configuration are allowed to stretch their economic tentacles, and by extension, wealth. Unfortunately, the states in the centre (the developed world) have entrenched their hegemonies and taken advantage of the globalisation phenomenon to fortify their economic power, while, the states at the periphery (the developing world) continue to wallow in abject poverty. Thus, the opportunities presented by globalisation for countries to deepen their economic bases have been unevenly utilised.

3.3 Limitations of Economic Power

Despite the strength inherent in the economic power of any country, there are still limitations to the extent to which it can be applied in international relations. In an increasingly globalised world, it is becoming more tasking to influence the system through the deliberate use of economic assets as a weapon. Certain “smart sanctions” – such as denying visas to family members of dictators and freezing their bank accounts – may have some effect. But efforts to apply trade embargoes and other forms of economic coercion to influence another country’s political or military behaviour fail more often than not, especially when the targeted state perceives that the reforms sought by the outside world threaten its survival. Worse still, economic sanctions often end up enriching elites, who have ready access to the black market, and impoverishing everybody else.

Cases abound of how various countries violated the sanctions imposed on South-Africa during the apartheid era. Similarly, countries have been found wanting in following up with sanctions regimes and trade-embargoes in very many occasions, against dictatorial and authoritarian regimes in many parts of the world. The underlining fact therefore is that, the use of economic asset as a weapon of achieving aims and objectives is intricately tied to each country’s national interest. To this extent, economic power may be said to have limited impacts in the pursuit of some certain courses of actions in international relations.

3.4 Has Economic Power Replaced Military Power

At the end of the Cold War, some pundits proclaimed that geo-economics had replaced geopolitics. In effect, economic power was expected to become the key to success in world politics, a change that many people thought would end in a world dominated by Japan and Germany. Political observers have long debated whether economic or military power is more fundamental. The Marxist tradition casts economics as the underlying structure of power, and political institutions as a mere superstructure, an assumption shared by nineteenth century liberals who believed that growing interdependence in trade and finance would make war obsolete. This belief is yet to materialise - wars may be fought for economic reasons, but economic relations may not be able to replace the propensity to go to war.

Military power, which some refer to as the ultimate form of power in world politics has very strong limitations in the absence of a reliable and strong economic base, thus, a thriving economy is required for the prosecution of war. The argument for primacy between military and

economic power is a matter for conjecture, which is determined by the context and content of the scenario.

Judging whether economic interdependence produces power requires looking at the “balance of financial terror” analogous to the Cold War military interdependence in which the US and the Soviet Union each had the potential to destroy the other in a nuclear exchange. In a recent development, a group of senior Chinese military officers, angered over US arms sales to Taiwan, called for Chinese government to sell off US government bonds in retaliation. Their suggestion was not heeded. Economic resources can produce soft-power behaviour as well as hard military power. A successful economic model can finance the military resources needed for the exercise of hard power.

3.5 Measuring Economic Power

The national security implications of economic power transcend the ability to finance a higher defence budget and field expensive weaponry. Signs that a country is on the road to economic power include a strong and stable currency, adequate foreign exchange reserves; inflows of foreign investment, rising productivity, manageable inflation, and a declining level of poverty. Other indicators reflect the degree of urbanisation, levels of education, growth rate of the Gross National Product (GNP), rate of technological advancement, the level of industrialisation, social indicators such as life expectancy and others. All of these can be measured.

Several volumes have been written on each of these variables generally used as indices or measure of economic power. However, a brief explanation shall be given on some of them for the benefit of those unfamiliar with the concepts.

3.5.1 Gross National Product (GNP)

It is an important index of economic power. It provides comprehensive picture of the economy of a state. It shows what is produced, as well as the distribution of income. The maximisation of the growth of GNP shows the level of economic development. Some states achieve this through capital accumulation and industrialisation. Others pursue the same goal through improved performance of the factors of production and improved techniques of production. The rate of growth of the GNP is used as an index of performance of the economy. It also determines countries that are developed and those that are not. GNP is calculated thus: Consumption + Government Expenditure + Investments + Exports + Foreign Production by indigenous companies – Domestic Production by foreign companies.

3.5.2 The Level of Industrialisation

Industrialisation has been viewed as a superior way of life. Rich states are believed to be rich because they are industrialised and poor states are backward because they are primary producers. When the greater percentage of a state's population is engaged in industries rather than agriculture, this shows the level of development.

3.5.3 The Rate of Technological Advancement

Technology is defined as a totality of the means employed to provide gadgets necessary for human substance and comfort. It also implies a way of doing things through the application of knowledge derived from a systematic investigation of natural forces and materials. When this is applied in the process of production, it leads to greater output. Therefore, states that have been able to develop and apply technology are bound to be perceived as being more developed than those without technology.

3.5.4 Good Governance as a Pillar of Economic Power

Politician who demand huge bribes and send millions of dollars to foreign bank accounts stunt their countries' development in multiple ways. Good governance allows for stability upon which the economy of the state can flourish. The good governance regime provides for the adequate use of the resource possessions of a country, and the opportunity for the critical mass of the people to survive through positive engagements. When the enabling environment is provided by the government, the people can engage in economic activities that would have long-run effects on the economic growth and development of the country. The absence of a good governance regime has the propensity for dwindling the capacity for economic advancement.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has provided an examination of the meaning, dimensions and measurement of economic power. It also examined the connection between a state's economic power and political power, and by extension, military power, in the context of the struggle for power and allocation of values in the international system.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, the economic power of a country is a very viable tool for influencing other states in the system. Thus, economic power is strongly tied to the pursuit of strong and vibrant foreign-policy objectives

therefore the greater the level of economic power, the greater the ability of a state to command respect in the international community.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. What do you understand by economic power?
- ii. Critically examine the relationship between economic power and military power.
- iii. How can economic power be measured?

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UNIT 3 SOCIO-CULTURAL POWER

CONTENTS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit brings to light, the need to examine the power concept in international relations beyond the tangible object. The intangible power at the disposal of states could also make the state very influential, depending on the ability of the state to adequately utilise it to its advantage. Socio-cultural power in this context concerns all that patterns to the identity and value-system of the people. The unit commences with the use of the French colonial policy of assimilation as an instrument of cultural power on African francophone colonial states even after colonialism. We would thereafter expose the impact of the era of modernisation on global cultural orientations, and also explain the strategic role that the geography of a state can play in the process of realising the state's national-state. The last section is the explanation of how globalisation is able to spread a cultural revolution across the globe, and lastly, the import of counterculture would also be assessed.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- assess how the culture of a particular people can be influenced by that of another
- analyse the ways by which culture can be transmitted
- examine the effects of the dominance of a particular culture on another
- describe ways of preventing the dominance of a particular culture on that of another.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Interrogating Socio-Cultural Power

The field of sociology helps us to understand our culture and society better. Through this discipline, we get a vivid evaluation of the effects of social actions as it affects the international community. In the words of Linton (1964), "culture of a society is the way of life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation". Culture determines a peoples way of life, the acceptable patterns of behaviour in the society and the flow of regular behaviour. For an infant born into this world, s/he knows nothing, but right from infancy, it starts to learn from its mother, family, peer group and so on, how to relate with other people in the society, ethics of right and wrong and so on. The new born imbibes the ideals of the society through a process called socialisation.

Socialisation is the process of imbibing the norms of the society. Just like it is for individuals, so is it for states in the international environment. These norms are the values which the society deems fit and considers the ideal and proper way of life. In international relations, there are general norms that are shared within the comity of civilised nations, for instance, the conduct of diplomacy, the waging of war, etc.

The culture of a people determines the identity of its people, that is; what the particular group is and others are not. This makes the group members to want to identify with their type, and desist from others that are not of the same group. The process of conducting this identification is enhanced by the power potentials available. In this respect, Weber (1946) defines power as "the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action". That is, the ability to get ones wish even if they are against that of the others. A more analytical definition of power was also provided in Lukes (1974) where power is defined thus: "A exercises power over B, when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interest. In essence, socio-cultural power can be defined as the combination or interaction of social and cultural elements of a particular group of people, which has the power to influence the attitudes and orientations of another group in another society.

The process by which a particular culture that prevails in a given society can influence that of another people in a different location all together is gradual, and can take ages, but in the new era of development, this can take place with the speed of light. The next explanation would examine how the French Policy of Assimilation was executed to ensure the dominance of the French culture over the African culture, with particular attention on Senegal.

3.1 The Policy of Assimilation

Socio-cultural power tends to manifest when the cultural values of a people is forced on or transmitted to another people without the ability to prevent the impact. We can see a semblance of this in the French policy of assimilation. The idea of the French policy of assimilation came up as a result of the French revolution which emphasised freedom, fraternity and equality, and these were to be extended to anyone that was French; thereby giving the same rights and privileges which a French man in France enjoys to the Africans in the four communes of Senegal. The French policy of assimilation was aimed at 'Frenchifying' Africans by imbibing in them the French cultural ethos. The government of France during colonisation, saw the assimilation policy as a way of making Africans become Frenchmen. The Frenchman sees his culture as "numero uno", and every other culture comes after, so the French believed that if you are not French, then you do not have a culture. For the above stated reason, they decided to use the assimilation policy to turn Africans into French citizens, by imbibing in them, the French culture which they saw as the supreme.

The power the assimilation policy had was that an African in any of the four French communes of Senegal, that had imbibed the French culture; dressed like the French, talked like the French and behaved like French men, had the same rights as the French man living in France. Naturally, the French policy of assimilation met with some stiff opposition by some Africans, who refused to do away with their own culture, but their colonial masters (French government) put in place strict disciplinary measures to ensure compliance. Such disciplinary measures included refusing those Africans that refuse to be assimilated access to social and welfare amenities, and most especially, deviants were dealt with by public flogging. By the late 19th century, a large number of Africans in the four communes of Senegal had already been assimilated. This confirms the tremendous power the culture of a people has on another. The French policy of assimilation also went under intense criticism in France; as some argued that no matter how much right is extended to Africans they will still remain Africans, some people in France also saw the assimilated Africans as inferior Frenchmen or second class citizens and so on. As a result of these issues and several others, the French government decided to change the assimilation policy to the policy of association.

With the new policy of association, the colonial masters were supposed to recognise and respect the African culture and traditions, rather than try to eliminate African culture and merge the African man forcefully into the French culture. Another aim of the policy of association was to rule the Africans indirectly by using natives, and also, the policy of

association was to ensure the retention of the African tradition, customs and laws. In reality, only the name of the policy was changed; from assimilation to association, but the elements of the policy of assimilation still remained in the policy of association. It is interesting to note that despite over 50 years of independence, the French culture still has a strong hold on the former French colonies in Africa, thereby the French had been able to propagate their ideals, norms and identities beyond the shores of Europe and to other parts of the world.

3.2 Modernisation

This is mainly an economic concept, which deals with how underdeveloped nations can become developed, simply by adopting the same methods and procedures which the developed nations used in achieving development. This concept is also very instrumental in sociology because it has to do with the inequalities that exist between less developed and developed countries.

The concept of modernisation is concerned with the process of transformation of less developed nations from their traditional society to a modern society. The concept has been one of the major perspective of the study of national development and underdevelopment in the discipline of sociology since the 1950s, the modernisation theorists study the political, social and cultural implications of economic growth, as well as the conditions necessary for economic growth to occur. Theorists that have written on modernisation hold that the underdeveloped nations are at a pre-modern stage of development, and that for them to be able to attain the stage of development attained by Western European and North American societies, they must emulate their processes. By this, modernisation theorists mean that less developed societies will have to import western ideology and put aside their traditional ways of conducting state policy, as this would ensure that less developed nations become westernised.

By implication, we can see that modernisation is a strategy of the West to ensure that every society in the world inculcates the western way of life; meaning that all of the traditional way of life of the less developed societies will be discarded in place of the predominant norms of the West. This strategy is merely in favour of the West, to ensure that they are able to sell their mental construct of development to the rest of the world, implying that the presumed less developed nations of the world may never be able to embrace development except they subscribe to modernisation.

3.3 Geography

The geographical location of a people has tremendous influence on their socio-cultural activities. It is imperative to note that certain geographical locations favour certain groups of people. Factors such as weather, climate, mode of dressing and so on, are some of the variables to be considered under geographical factors of socio-cultural power. It is expected that when a person changes location from his/her original place of domicile, to an extremely different location, for instance, if an African relocates to Europe, such an individual does not expect the same weather condition in Africa to apply to Europe, such an individual will have to adjust to new and sometimes strange environmental conditions; a movement from the tropical weather condition to an extremely cold weather condition, such situation will; have an impact on the individual's environmental orientation, some individuals may fall sick in the process of adapting, while some may develop chronic side effects. Hence, such changes in an individual's geographical environment, changes the individual's environmental orientation; from wearing light material clothes that suits the harsh weather conditions of Africa, the individual now has to wear thick layer clothing which suit the extreme weather conditions of Europe.

In essence, the individual subconsciously starts adopting new ways of dressing, which is extremely different from what the individual's natural culture permits. What was meant to be a mere method of adopting to the extreme weather conditions in Europe, now takes its toll on such an individual's cultural habits in terms of dressing. As a result of staying a little while in Europe or maybe a couple of years, the individual now takes the European way of dressing as a permanent culture, to the extent that when such an individual returns to Africa on vacation, s/he refuses to revert back to their original mode of dressing, thereby seeing the European culture as their new and permanent way of life.

This shows that the change of geographical location from one part of the world to a totally different part of the world has an immense effect on ones socio-cultural orientation.

3.4 Globalisation

This happens to be one of the key phenomenon that is shaping our contemporary world. Globalisation means communicative practices from local to global levels, in essence, it provides an avenue through which socio-cultural power is exercised, resisted and contested. It is the spreading and homogenising of culture across the globe. According to Giddens, globalisation is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local

happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. Cultural [globalisation](#) is the rapid traversing of ideas, attitudes and values across national borders. This sharing of ideas generally leads to an interconnectedness and interaction between peoples of diverse cultures and ways of life. Mass media and communication technologies are the primary instruments for cultural globalisation. Global news services such as CNN disseminate the same events and issues across the world including some of the most remote locations in the world. This internationalisation of news exposes countries to foreign ideas, practices, and lifestyles. The development of computer technology- with its social networking sites, video sharing websites, blogging sites and various other permutations- has served to accelerate cultural globalisation as there are no boundaries on the World Wide Web. Advances in transportation have also facilitated physical travel to other countries, which in turn, has encouraged cross-cultural exchanges.

As a result of globalisation, some cultures are getting lost. In countries that have high economic power, a lot of innovations are invented, and this creates a wide gap between such countries and developing countries. The effect is that less developed countries such as the ones we have in Africa, tend to want to imitate the developed nations in terms of their way of life and so on, thereby leaving behind their own norms and values for another. With this, it is obvious that globalisation damages cultures of economically weak countries, to the advantage of stronger and advanced nations. As a matter of fact, the culture of the weaker nations could face extinction.

Globalisation brings about inequality in the international arena; one party benefit more at the detriment of another. The way of life in Europe that is transmitted through globalisation to Africa, and is adopted in Africa, ensures that there is a conducive atmosphere for Europeans when they come to Africa, because some Africans in Africa already exhibit European ways of life, whereas, reverse is the case in Europe. This inequality is due to the fact that the content of their social-culture has subordinated or adulterated African culture, and this is made possible by the power of globalisation.

4.0 Counterculture

The penetration of a particular culture by another does not always undergo a smooth process. Though culture is very powerful in manifestation, that explains the reason for stiff opposition when a cultural intrusion threatens the existence of subsisting cultural orientation and ideals.

A counterculture can be defined as a group which share similar socio-cultural characteristics, and come together to oppose the dominant form of social system or try to prevent the existence of any other form of social system different from its. A countercultural action or expression communicates disagreement, opposition, disobedience or rebellion. A counterculture rejects or challenges mainstream culture or particular elements of it.

This might mean:

- Protesting against a particular situation or issue
- Rebelling against the accepted or acceptable way of doing things
- Struggling for liberation when you are oppressed or marginalised
- Finding new ways to represent yourself when you are misrepresented or simply not represented
- Creating your own culture when you are dissatisfied with the culture that is made for you

In the 20th century, countercultural points of view were commonly expressed as action. The countercultural pamphlets, flyers, posters, newsletters and independent newspapers, fanzines or magazines are therefore the ephemera or 'remains' of a larger active expression. Often they were originally meant to serve immediate, sometimes urgent, purposes: to promote action, gather support or inspire change.

In Nigeria, an example of a counterculture group is *Jama'atul Ahlus Sunna Lid Da'awaTis Jihad*, popularly known as Boko Haram. This is an islamic fundamentalist group dominant in the Northern part of Nigeria. The name Boko Haram is Hausa; Boko means western, or better still non-islamic education, while Haram, an Arabic which means forbidden or sin. The Islamic sect Boko Haram sees western education and western culture as evil, and will kill to prove that point.

Several counterculture groups exists all over the world, Boko Haram is just one of them. Boko Haram makes its voice heard by detonating bombs at strategic places in the northern part of Nigeria, it also makes use of suicide bombers. This group is holding the government of Nigeria to ransom, just because it is against western education and western culture in the north, instead it wants all the northern states to become sharia states.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The present existing world order is an unequal one. The West has been at the fore front of ensuring that they remain the dominate actors in the international system, while indirectly subordinating the cultures of the

other groups. This act of relegating the cultures of other state-actors in the international system has existed for several centuries. The South is however at a stage whereby, the realisation of the denigration of the culture is no longer acceptable, however, the alternative modes of exiting the unfortunate circumstances is not forthcoming. In fact, cultural globalisation has made the task even more daunting.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit reveals some of the factors responsible for the domination of one culture by another. Incidentally, the West has devised specific means of ensuring the dominance of its culture on the international arena. This socio-cultural power has added to the influence being wielded by the advanced countries of Europe and America over the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin-America.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. The socio-cultural ingredients of the North are the same as that of the South. Discuss.
- ii. In what ways have the culture of the West been able to penetrate that of the South?.
- iii. How can cultural equity be attained in the international system?

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UNIT 4 MILITARY CAPABILITY

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Contextualisation of the Military
 - 3.2 Military Capability
 - 3.2.1 Combat Readiness
 - 3.2.2 Force Structure
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

As part of expatiating on the issue of states' abilities to command respect in the international arena through the pursuit of national interest, we shall be undertaking a thorough examination of the influence of military capability on the extent to which a state can influence the course of international relations.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the import of a strong military base in the pursuit of national interest
- analyse the various means through which the military can be deployed in the projection of national interest
- explain the relevance of the military structure to the success of military engagements.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Contextualisation of the Military

The existence of a military organisation or institution is one of the characteristics of statehood, beyond conferring legitimacy on the state, it is also essential for the existence and survival of the state. The military is “an organisation authorised by its greater society to [use lethal force](#), usually including use of weapons, in defending its country by combating actual or [perceived threats](#)”. All through the ages, the size and the organisation of the military has always determined its strength and

capability, these in turn determine the level of respect the state can command in the international arena. The institution comprises the army, navy and air-force, and it is principally concerned with the execution of the national defence policy. In the execution of these policies, the military is driven by its capabilities, which can be assessed by the quality of the military command, economics and military intelligence. Every nation in the history of humanity had different needs for military forces.

Military command

The first requirement of the military is to establish it as a force with a capability to execute the national defence policy. Invariably, although the policy may be created by policy makers or policy analysts, its implementation requires specific expert knowledge of how the military functions, and how it fulfils roles. The first of these skills is the ability to create a cohesive force capable of acting on policy as and when required, and therefore the first function of the military is to provide military command. One of the roles of military command is to translate policy into concrete missions and tasks, and to express them in terms understood by subordinates, generally called orders. Military command make effective and efficient military organisation possible through delegation of authority which encompass organisational structures as large as military districts or military zones, and as small as platoons. The command element of the military is often a strong influence on the organisational culture of the forces.

Military personnel

Another requirement is for the military command personnel, often called the officer corps, to command subordinated military personnel, generally known as soldiers, sailors, marines, or airmen, capable of executing the many specialised operational missions and tasks required for the military to execute the policy directives. During peacetime when military personnel are mostly employed in garrisons or permanent military facilities they mostly conduct administrative tasks, training and education activities, and technology maintenance. Another role of military personnel is to ensure a continuous replacement of departing servicemen and women through military recruitment, and the maintenance of a military reserve.

Military intelligence

The next requirement comes as a fairly basic need for the military to identify the possible threats it may be called upon to face. For this purpose some of the command and other military and often civilian personnel participate in identification of these threats, which is at once an organisation, a system and a process collectively called military intelligence (MI). The difficulty in using military intelligence concepts

and military intelligence methods is in the nature of the secrecy of the information they seek, and the clandestine nature that intelligence operatives work in obtaining what may be plans for a conflict escalation, initiation of combat or an invasion. An important part of the military intelligence role is the military analysis performed to assess military capability of potential future aggressors, and provide combat modelling that helps to understand factors on which comparison of forces can be made. This helps to quantify and qualify such statements as "China and India maintain the largest armed forces in the World" or that "the U.S. Military is considered to be the world's strongest".

Military economics

More commonly referred to as [defence economics](#), this is the financial and monetary efforts done to resource and sustain militaries and for financing military operations including war. The process of allocating resources is conducted by determining a [military budget](#) which is administered by a military finance organisation within the military. Military procurement is then authorised to purchase or contract provision of goods and services to the military, whether in peacetime at a permanent base or in a combat zone from local population.

Capability development

Capability development, which is often referred to as the military "strength", is arguably one of the most complex activities known to humanity because it requires determining: Strategic, operational and tactical capability requirements to counter the identified threats; Strategic, operational and tactical doctrines by which the acquired capabilities will be used; identifying concepts, methods and systems involved in executing the doctrines; creating design specifications for the manufacturers who would produce these in adequate quantity and quality for their use in combat; purchase the concepts, methods and systems; create a forces structure that would use the concepts, methods and systems most effectively and efficiently; integrate these concepts, methods and systems into the force structure by providing military education, training, and practice that preferably resembles combat environment of intended use; create military logistics systems to allow continued and uninterrupted performance of military organisations under combat conditions, including provision of health services to the personnel and maintenance for the equipment; the services to assist recovery of wounded personnel and repair of damaged equipment; and finally post-conflict demobilisation and disposal of war stocks surplus to peacetime requirements. Development of military doctrine is perhaps the more important of all capability development activities because it determines how military forces were, and are used in conflicts, the concepts and methods used by the command to employ appropriately military skilled, armed and equipped personnel in achievement of the

tangible goals and objectives of the war, campaign, battle, engagement, action or a duel.

Military science

Because most of the concepts and methods used by the military, and many of its systems are not found in the commercial use, much of materiel is researched, designed, developed and offered for inclusion in arsenals by military science organisation within the overall structure of the military. Military scientists are therefore found to interact with all arms and services of the armed forces, and at all levels of the military hierarchy of command. Although concerned with research into military psychology, and particularly combat stress and how it affect troop morale, often the bulk of military science activities is directed at the military intelligence technology, military communications and improving military capability through research, design, development and prototyping of weapons, military support equipment, and military technology in general that includes everything from global communication networks and aircraft carriers to paint and food.

Military logistics

Possessing military capability is insufficient if this capability cannot be deployed for, and employed in combat operations. To achieve this, military logistics are used for the logistics management and logistics planning of the forces supply "tail", the consumables and capital equipment of the troops.

Although mostly concerned with the military transport as a means of delivery using different modes of transport from military trucks to container ships operating from permanent military base, it also involves creating field supply dumps in the rear of the combat zone, and even forward supply points in specific unit's tactical area of responsibility.

These supply points are also used to provide military engineering services such as the recovery of defective and derelict vehicles and weapons, maintenance of weapons in the field, the repair and field modification of weapons and equipment, and in peacetime the life-extension programs undertaken to allow continued use of equipment. One of the most important roles of logistics is the supply of munitions as a primary type of consumable, their storage and disposal.

Military operations

While capability development is about enabling the military to perform its functions and roles in executing the defence policy, how personnel and their equipment are used in engaging the enemy, winning battles, successfully concluding campaigns, and eventually the war, is the responsibility of military operations. Military operations oversees the

policy interpretation into military plans, allocation of capability to specific strategic, operational and tactical goals and objectives, change in posture of the armed forces, the interaction of combat arms, combat support arms and combat support services during combat operations, defining of military missions and tasks during the conduct of combat, management of military prisoners and military civil affairs, and the military occupation of enemy territory, seizure of captured equipment, and maintenance of civil order in the territory under its responsibility.

Throughout the combat operations process, and during the lulls in combat military intelligence provides reporting on the status of plan completion and its correlation with desired, expected and achieved satisfaction of policy fulfilment.

Military performance assessment

The last requirement of the military is for military performance assessment and learning from it. These two functions are performed by military historians and military theorists who seek to identify failures and success of the armed force and integrate corrections into the military reform with the aim of producing an improved force capable of performing adequately should there be a national defence policy review.

3.2 Military Capability

Military capability is defined by the [Australian Defence Force](#) as "the ability to achieve a desired effect in a specific operating environment". It is defined by these interdependent factors: [combat readiness](#) and [force structure](#).

In terms of technologies, weapons and equipment use, it represents assets that exist to perform specific functions in relation to requirements of the statement about present or future military operations as derived from the [national defence policy](#) (strategic). A national capabilities development plan seeks to provide a global understanding of capability needs, capability trends and potential capability shortfalls.

Military capability is often referred to in terms of low, medium and high, although this usually refers to the type, quantity and sophistication of technology being used in combat operations, and the severity of threat to security of the state.

Combat readiness

Combat readiness is a condition of the [armed forces](#) and their constituent [units and formations](#), [warships](#), [aircraft](#), [weapon systems](#) or other [military technology and equipment](#) to perform during [combat military operations](#), or functions consistently with the purpose for which

they are [organised](#) or designed, or the managing of resources and personnel training in preparation for combat. Most armed forces maintain varying [levels](#) of readiness by the troops to engage in combat due to economic considerations which vary often. In modern armed forces troops designated [Special Forces](#) are usually those kept at the highest state of readiness for combat, and are often alerted only a few hours before being committed to combat. Where time is of the essence in [military action](#) being initiated, the troops, such as pilots of [interceptor aircraft](#), may be kept in constant state of combat readiness.

Force Structure

A force structure is the [combat](#)-capable part of a [military organisation](#) which describes how military personnel, and their [weapons](#) and equipment, are organised for the operations, missions and tasks expected from them by the particular [doctrine](#) of the [service](#) or demanded by the environment of the [conflict](#).

Force structuring considers the allocation of [officers](#) and other service men and women, their skills, and the relationship between their [military units](#) required to provide mutual support during [military operations](#) as a [military capability](#) of the [armed forces](#) in part or as a whole. The totality of the force structure committed to any given military operation, mission or task is called an [order of battle](#). Force structure planning is imbued with its own peculiarities in that the organisation of the command structure within the order of battle is not usually reflected in the force structure, but rather, would only reflect the force command hierarchy and their relative deployment.

The adaptability of any force's force structure is usually tested in wartime to reflect changing nature of warfare, and therefore [military doctrine](#), it usually entails for the participants. Force structure is also often shaped by forces of necessity when there is a lack of trained personnel, experience or appropriate equipment. Currently changes in force structure can be caused not only by changes in forms of warfare and doctrine, but also rapid change in technology and budgetary considerations based on the wider national economy.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The role of the military in the international arena cannot be overemphasised. It is no longer news that nations go to war with one another regularly, and for a nation to gain respect in the international arena, it requires a strong military base that has the capacity to withstand the enemy, at anytime. The strength of a nation's military also goes a long way in determining a nation's foreign policy. At home, the military is also very important, as it serves as the custodian of peace and security

within the nation, which is its traditional role. In this work, we also examined other issues pertaining to the military as a significant institution in any country.

5.0 SUMMARY

To sum it all up, we surmise that civilian governments must play their part in keeping the military in its traditional role, because it is the general consensus among scholars that the worst civilian government is better than the best military government, in other words, the military should not participate in the political administration of government.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Analyse the role of the military in the international arena.
- ii. A nation is as strong as its military power. Discuss.
- iii. How do the military influence a nations' foreign policy?

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MODULE 5

Unit 1	The Nature and Character of Terrorism
Unit 2	Securitisation Models
Unit 3	Diplomacy
Unit 4	Peace Models
Unit 5	Collective Security Systems

UNIT 1 THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF TERRORISM**CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
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3.2	Characteristics/Features of Terrorism
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Of the current most potential, or actual, global threat to humanity, terrorism, or the threat of it, marks a significant challenge to world peace and harmony. The concept of terrorism, however, like most other concepts in the study of international relations has different meanings to different scholars. By way of consensus, however, the act of terrorism suggests immanent destruction of life and properties by aggrieved individuals, acting for themselves or on behalf of their organisations, groups, sects or states.

This unit is the last of the subjects on the conditions of an archaic international system. Terrorism as a global phenomenon is comprehensively treated in order to allow for a deep understanding of the phenomenon.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- deduce the terms with the various meanings of terrorism

- derive who the real terrorists are
- explain why terrorism is as a result of global inequality.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Meaning of Terrorism

Scholars of international relations and security studies have tried over the years to explain what is meant by the concept of terrorism. In view of this, divergent explanations have emerged to provide for the explications of the term.

Here, terrorism is seen as consisting of deliberate acts of a physical or psychological nature perpetrated on select groups of victims. Its intent is to mould the thinking and behaviour not only of these targeted groups, but more importantly, of a larger section of society that identify or share the views and aspirations of the targeted groups or who might easily be led to do so. The intent of the terrorists is to intimidate or coerce both groups by causing them intense fear, anxiety, apprehension, panic, and/or horror.

Obviously, the groups that have been directly targeted experience these emotions to a much higher degree than the larger sections of society that the terrorist act is also intended to intimidate and coerce. The overall purpose of terrorism is to intimidate and coerce, not to eliminate a group physically or socially. The latter is called genocide. Terrorism refers more to unleashing terror against perceived enemies and their symbols. It is a violent way of showing grievances by aggrieved persons believed to have been deprived of their right to exist, survive economically or practice their belief. It presupposes, therefore, a reactionary application of tact to call attention to a particular peoples' course.

3.2 Characteristics/Features of Terrorism

Terrorist acts are manifested in various forms, driven by the intentions and capabilities of the terrorists. Essentially, the goal of the terrorist is fundamental to the terrorist act being perpetrated. Thus, individuals, groups and even states have been found engaging in terrorist activities. All of these shall be treated below.

Individual terrorist act

In most cases, the act of terrorism is carried out individually. It takes an individual to take the difficult decision of committing suicide before an act of terrorism become visible on a world scale. Most local and international terrorist groups do not exist without leaders, with international clout. Al Qaeda, for instance, have suffered a major set-back since the demise of its leader, Osama bin Laden. Before now, two

Libyans were arrested for their complicity in the December 21, 1988 Lockerbie bombing. Also, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, a Tanzanian, was arrested in Pakistan in connection with the Al-Qaeda's bombing of the U.S. embassies in East Africa in 1998, and Nigerian Muhammad Abdul Mutalab was sentenced recently to a life imprisonment in a U.S. court for attempting to bomb a US Airplane in December 2009. All of these individuals have engaged in individual terrorism. But, certainly they did not operate in isolation but rather in connection with a highly organised hierarchical group of individuals.

Group terrorism

This is also known as organisational terrorism. It refers to the increasing capacity of global terrorists to acquire more members, greater geographic reach, high level of ideological sophistication and wider influence and impacts. Al-Qaeda, for example, has as its major goal: "the unification of other militant Islamist groups under its strategic leadership. Thus, after fleeing Afghanistan to Pakistan in 2001, the group founded a regional branch in the Arabian Peninsula and acquired franchises in Iraq and the Maghreb" (Farrall, 2001). This explains why even if we conceive that the group is losing grasp on its subjects, as a result of the big blow recently dealt on it by the United States Marine Corps, we cannot afford to underestimate the possibility of recuperation through its various subsidiaries.

Farrall (2001) argues that such treatment of the central al Qaeda separately from its subsidiaries overlooks its success in expanding its power through them. He, therefore, warned that the sub-groups should not be ignored because all have attacked western interests in their regions of operations. For emphasis, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) has long targeted the United States, but its efforts have moved beyond the execution stage only in the last two years, most recently with the foiled plot to bomb cargo planes in October 2010. Also, even though al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has not yet attacked outside its own region, al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) was reportedly involved in the June 2007 London and Glasgow bomb plots. All these, notwithstanding, some states have also been accused of terrorist acts as we explain briefly below.

State terrorism

Oftentimes, the vanity of conceptualization of individual and group terrorism is defeated by the understanding that the terror of the state is often historically antecedent to revolutionary terrorism masterminded by individuals or groups. Washington publishes an annual list of governments that it alleges aid terrorists. Typically, this list contains a majority of governments of Arab states plus Iran, Cuba and North Korea. This highlights the importance of how terrorism is defined. But

according to Frederick Gareau (2004), if state terrorism were included in the definition, Washington would have to include itself on the list.

3.3 Multiple Interpretations of Terrorist Acts

We should be careful when we discuss terrorism in international security studies, so that we do not fall victims of personalised restricted interpretations of the concept by certain states and individual actors. The pursuit of a selfish (often referred to as national) interest by states in the international system may, as well, most times seem an act of terrorism. In the same token, diplomats often formulate definitions to satisfy their particular social agendas. This is because, it is believed that one man's terrorist is another's freedom-fighter.

For instance, the South African government passed an anti-terrorist law in 1967 which viewed the phenomenon in such a manner that virtually any political or social act came under its purview. Cooperating with UNICEF to reduce infant mortality or revealing the misconduct of a state official could have been constructed as "terrorism" by the white South African government of that time. P.W. Botha, the head of the Apartheid government, characterised Nelson Mandela, the head of the African National Congress, as a "communist terrorist". On the other hand, the American Democratic Party's 1998 platform refers to South Africa as a "terrorist state".

Explanations on what constitutes terrorism remain vague and very ambiguous, even the ones provided by the United Nations. The world body of states has not been able to define terrorism by way of separating individual, groups and state terrorisms. What the organisation has successfully done is the condemnation of the act of terrorism.

Explanations for acts of terrorism should not be sought in the predispositions of diplomats for meticulous precision. This is because diplomats are to operate in that murky realm that mixes semantics with politics, and politics has dominion. Diplomats on any given side of an issue are forced to promote certain political agendas, and, to reiterate the well-known saying: "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". The anti-colonial developing countries exempted guerrillas fighting for independence from this denomination.

The United Nations did recognise the legitimacy of liberation movements fighting for independence, but that still leaves open the question of how the fight was carried on. Washington either excused infractions committed by those developing world governments it supported, or labelled them "violators of human rights" rather than the more abusive term of terrorism. Students should be able to lucidly explain what actions are qualified to be taken as terrorism.

3.4 The War against Terrorism

This would be examined in three dimensions namely:

- The roots of the war on terrorism
- The nature of the war on terrorism
- War on terrorism as a form of a counter-terrorism

A. The roots of the war on terrorism

The purpose of examining the roots of the war on terrorism is to expose how the present war on terrorism began as Washington's counterinsurgencies in the Middle East. The United States of America, in the past, supported the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein of Iraq, who after the Iranian revolution invaded Iran and fought a bloody war with it for eight years; and for Israel that has fought and terrorized Palestinians for over a century. It is a common knowledge that during the Cold War-counterinsurgency period, Washington viewed its enemies as communist-inspired insurgencies- as well as political movements charged as being so inspired or simply leftist movements.

B. The nature of the war on terrorism

Contemporary war on terrorism is a messianic, apocalyptic struggle of blameless good against consummative evil, tagged "axis of evil nations". The primary enemy seems to be religious bigotry and terror, and not atheist as the previous enemy was. It is needless to mention that accusing fingers are often pointed at Israel as state that practices state terrorism and by supplying military and economic aid, Washington is an accomplice.

C. The war on terrorism as a form of counter-terrorism

It is believed in certain quarters that the aid and support that Washington currently gives to states to wage the war on terrorism has features in common with the aid and support previously provided to states that practiced state terrorism during the Cold War. "This parallel is scary". The act of the U.S. special forces and that of the CIA have been described as counterterrorism, the re-baptised version of counter-insurgency.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you have learnt about terrorism in its various dimensions and explanations. The role of the United States in the encouragement, the spread and the war against terror were highlighted and the focus on the extant face of terrorism was explained. Students are expected to be able to differentiate between individual, group and state terrorism at the

end of the course. Indeed, there are other subtle forms of terrorism that students need to understand. Explore this on your own.

5.0 SUMMARY

It is now well known to us that the act of terrorism is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Those who engage in the terrorist activities often do so to react to certain actions of their victims or their governments in the past. It is also very obvious that many of the fight against terrorism have actually succeeded in promoting it, since those championing the fight are now guilty of counter-terrorist activities. The course has therefore showed us that the war against terrorism will become more meaningful and more justifiable only if those in charge champion the course of equity, probity and justice.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Who is a terrorist?
- ii. Is state terrorism an act of counter-terrorism?
- iii. Does the extant international system foster terrorist activity?
- iv. When does war against the terrorists justified?
- v. What are the dangers posed by terrorism to international peace and security?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 THE SECURITISATION MODEL

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Copenhagen School of Thought
 - 3.2 Securitising Actors
 - 3.3 Referent Objects of Securitisation
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

There is a groundswell of global concern about ensuring that the international system remains peaceful and secured. These concerns have encouraged stakeholders to pontificate about measures that could assure global security, such that the world would no longer witness the devastation visited on peoples during the First World War and the Second World War. Scholars have not been left wanting in this enterprise. Research scholarship has continually interrogated all the options that are open for peace. One of those efforts culminated in the creation of various schools of thought on security matters.

This unit would focus on securitisation as presented by the Copenhagen School of Thought. Though other schools of thought such as; the Welsh School, Paris School, Critical Security Studies and the Third World Security School exist in the area of security studies, but the Copenhagen School is that which places emphasis on the social aspect of security hence, the usefulness of the Copenhagen School to our analysis. Specifically therefore, we shall be focussing on the variables that are relevant to the securitisation model.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the theoretical basis of the Copenhagen School
- demonstrate an informed understanding of securitisation

- interpret policy decisions using the yardstick of the securitisation model.

3.1 Copenhagen School of Thought

The Copenhagen School of Thought is an organised school of academic thought with specific focus on security studies, which got its prompting from the published work of Barry Buzan, titled: *[People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations](#)*. The concern of this academic school of thought is to focus on the social aspects of security. The Copenhagen school places particular emphasis upon the social aspects of security. In effect, the school widens the traditional arena of security studies by focusing of some very relevant sectors.

In summary, the attention of the school is drawn to three fundamental variables, namely;

1. Sectors - The concept of 'sectors' concerns the different areas where we speak of security. The list of sectors is primarily an analytical tool created to spot different dynamics. These include: Military/state, Political, Societal, Economic, and Environmental.
2. Regional security complexes - The concept of regional security complexes cover how security is clustered in geographically shaped regions. Security concerns do not travel well over distances and threats are therefore most likely to occur in the region. The security of each actor in a region interacts with the security of the other actors. There is often intense security interdependence within a region, but not between regions, which is what defines a region and what makes regional security an interesting area of study.
3. Securitisation - Securitisation is probably the most prominent concept of the Copenhagen school. It is argued that 'security' is a speech act with distinct consequences in the context over international politics. By talking security an actor tries to move a topic away from politics and into an area of security concerns thereby legitimating extraordinary means against the socially constructed threat. The process of securitisation is inter-subjective meaning that it is neither a question of an objective threat or a subjective perception of a threat. Instead, securitisation of a subject depends on an audience accepting the securitisation speech act.

This model attempt at studying security and proffering solutions to security concerns have been weakened by some of its inherent subjectivism. The thinking of the school has been fairly criticised for his Eurocentric Approach. Furthermore, the realists have argued that the Copenhagen school's widening of the security agenda risks giving the discipline of [security studies](#) "intellectual incoherence". There is also the

criticism about the absence of gender in the Copenhagen school's approach.

Our focus here is on Securitisation, seen largely as synthesis of [constructivist](#) and classical political realism in its approach to [international security](#). In contrast to materialist approaches of classical security studies, securitisation is a process-oriented conception of security (Collins, 2007). In other words, while classical approaches of security focus on the material dispositions of the threat including distribution of power, military capabilities, and polarity, securitisation examines how a certain issue is transformed by an actor into a matter of security. Securitisation can therefore be defined as an extreme version of politicisation that enables the use of extraordinary means in the name of security. For the securitising act to be successful, it must be accepted by the audience. Securitisation studies aims to understand “who securitises, on what issues (threats), for whom (referent object), why, with what results, and not least, under what conditions” (Buzan, Waever & Wilde, 1998). The Securitisation Spectrum (Collins, 2007) is as presented below:

NON-POLITICISED	POLITICISED	SECURITISED
The state does not cope with the issue	The issue is managed within the standard political system	The issue is framed as a security question through an act of securitisation
The issue is not included in the public debate	It is part of public policy, requiring government decisions and resource allocations, or more rarely some form of communal governance	A securitising actor articulates an already politicised issue as an existential threat to a referent object

That a given subject is securitized does not necessarily mean that the subject is of objective essence for the survival of a given state, but means that someone with success has constructed something as an existential problem. Principally, anyone can succeed in constructing something as a security problem through speech acts. The ability to effectively securitize a given subject is, however, highly dependent on both the status of a given actor and on whether similar issues are generally perceived to be security threats.

If a subject is successfully securitized, then it is possible to legitimize extraordinary means to solve a perceived problem. This could include declaring a state of emergency or martial law, mobilising the military or attacking another country. Furthermore, if something is successfully

labelled as a security problem, then the subject can be considered to be an illegitimate subject for political or academic debate.

However, securitisation could easily involve more than one of these sectors. In the case of the [2003 Invasion of Iraq](#), one could say that the conflict was securitised militarily; [weapons of mass destruction](#) was one reason for the invasion. However, the war was also securitised as a societal problem; [human rights in Saddam's Iraq](#) was mentioned in the public rationale. Another less obvious example would be the immigration debate in the United States. Concerns of terrorist infiltration are regularly cited as grounds for the tight control of borders. Because it is easier to securitise an issue following September 11, this concern for safety and security has taken attention away from the economic factors that have always been at play in international migration.

3.2 Securitising Actors

Actors are the core concerns of securitisation, for all the gamut of ensuring that security is pursued and maintained is either to save or ensure the continued survival of a certain actor, or set of actors. Under the circumstances of international relations, securitising actors include; the government, political elite, military and civil society organisations. The role of the actor is linked to the articulation of an existing politicised issue as an existential threat to a referent object. Based on the existence and nature of threat, the securitising actor maintains that it has to adopt extraordinary means that transcends the regular norms of the political terrain.

The government - as the symbol of the state, the government has the onerous task of playing the most significant securitising role. As the bastion of the hopes and aspirations of the citizenry, the government is expected to possess a reliable arsenal of perceiving threats to the sovereignty of the state. Thus, there would be the need to sensitise the society about the existential nature of the threats. In this wise, there may be the adoption of extraordinary means of achieving the objective, such as; secession of relations with a potential aggressor, sponsorship of economic blockades and other relevant sanctions at the multilateral level.

The political elite - as against the information in the public sphere, the political elites are privy to sensitive information and often involved in decision-making. In taking up its role as a securitising actor, the political elite are responsible for awakening the senses of the electorates to potential dangers pertaining to the survival of the state. For instance, through political enlightenment campaigns, the critical mass of the people can be informed about issues, either domestic or international,

that could have direct unfavourable impact on their well-being. The immediate course of action would thereafter be determined by the affected group(s), however, the political elite would have played its role as a securitising actor.

Military - the responsibility of the military high command is the protection of the sovereignty of the state against both internal and external subversion. Despite the sensitivity of the military's job, the institution does not arrogate the sole rights and responsibilities of protecting the state to itself. The military is subordinate to civil government, and by extension the electorate that voted in the government. In cases of existential threat to referent objects therefore, the military has to present its case to the people, with the sole purpose receiving the consent on the appropriate line of action that may kill the threat.

Civil Society - a vibrant civil-society is the backbone of the critical mass of the people in any society. For the progressive civil society organisation, the major concern is the guarantee of the fundamental rights of the citizenry. An articulate civil society would therefore resent any threat or danger to the existence of the group. The main objective behind the intimation of the civil populace of imminent danger by the civil society is to mobilise the civil populace against the danger. The Arab spring incidents are reflections of the powers of the civil society to act as securitising actors, and in fact, effect changes in the society.

3.3 Referent Objects of Securitisation

There are main issues that generate attention for securitisation. It must be emphasised that these issues may not be limited to the issues of high-politics. They could also pertain to socio-cultural and economic issues. Some of these issues are explained below; national sovereignty, ideology, economy, etc. All of these issues fall within the domain of a state's national interest, which must be protected at all cost. For example, the resort to claims of an abiding loyalty to the national interest is a tool used by politicians and decision-makers to sway public opinion in the direction of actions they plan to take on behalf of the generality of the people. Because of the vagueness in the definition of national interest, decision-makers are quick to exploit the openings therein to determine the policy direction of the country.

3.4 Limitations on the Securitisation Model

Lack of adequate empirical explanation - the attention is more direct to theoretical thinking in security matters, while not sufficiently providing the analytical tools for explaining real-life security issues.

Hence, the need for the securitisation model to explore the reason for the ability of securitisation options to convince some securitisation actors while some fail to do so. Furthermore, there is the need to enquire into factors considered for categorising some issues as existential security threats, while some others are not so deeply considered. It should also be mentioned that the securitisation model does not provide the yardstick for measuring the policy effectiveness of undertaking extraordinary measures when issues of security are concerned, nor does the model articulate ways to handle unexpected consequences that may be generated through securitisation.

The Euro-centric perception - the emphasis of the securitisation model on the society rather than the state as a primary referent object is considered to have been derived from the European experience of integration. Basically, the thinking considers the European integration along political, economic and socio-cultural lines as the basis of analysis, without minding the conditions in other parts of the world. In other words, the explanation of societal security in securitisation model is based on the construction of a collective European identity, which detracts from the general conception of state security, which relates to the preservation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Inadequate for generalisation - for most parts of the world, the securitisation model may not be fully sufficient for explaining security issues and stemming the tides of conflicts, this is because the realist notion remains very relevant. Thus, while the securitisation model plays the important secondary role of intimating specific audiences of imminent danger and proffering implementation of extraordinary measures, rational theories may just be perfect for providing the primary theoretical basis for handling inter-state security matters.

Blurred distinction between the political and security realms: there is the need for a more in-depth clarification between politics and security. While securitisation denotes an extreme version of politicisation, it is yet to be seen how distinctions can be made between de-politicised, politicised and securitised issues. The current explanation of the securitisation model does not lend itself to distinguishing between an act of securitisation and extreme politicisation. The need for proper distinction is made more cogent in the analysis of security issues in undemocratic countries where thin-lines exist between the political and security domain. It is also a regular occurrence in democratic societies to seek political solutions to security challenges.

3.5 Desecuritisation

Desecuritisation is the direct opposite of securitisation. It involves the transformation of seeming security dangers from the emergency realm to a more civil arena where agreements, position-shifting and compromises can be obtained. In effect, the desecuritising are responsible for reconstituting an issue as no longer an existential threat, thereby moving the issue from the securitised realm into the public sphere. The actors are same as the securitising actors, therefore, it is the subsisting interest that determines which part of the divide, between being securitized or desecuritised. Students are encouraged to read more about this.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has thrown more light on some of the issues of security confronting the modern world. Securitisation as popularised by the Copenhagen school focuses on one of the measures adopted by policy and decision-makers to warn about the possibilities of wars and attacks, and through this, a state can make adequate preparation, when the citizenry's support has been courted.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, this unit re-emphasises the reality of security issues in the contemporary international system. Here, we are made to understand the workings of the critical variables when the issues of securitisation are concerned. Also, in contrast to securitisation, desecuritisation thinking is equally explicated as the transformation of the securitisation objectives.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. What is the primary position of the Copenhagen School of Thought on security?
- ii. Explain the function of each of the securitisation actors.
- iii. Explain the process of desecuritisation.

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UNIT 3 DIPLOMACY

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Diplomacy as an Instrument of Peace in International Relations
 - 3.2 History
 - 3.3 Typologies
 - 3.4 Techniques
 - 3.5 Characteristics of Diplomacy
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- 5.0 Summary
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit focuses on the various issues pertaining to diplomacy as a means by which peace and security is maintained in the international system. Here, we would deal with all aspects of the subject-matter.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- describe the relevance of diplomacy in international relations
- describe the various techniques of diplomacy
- explain the various mechanisms by which diplomacy is conducted.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Diplomacy as an Instrument of Peace in International Relations

Diplomacy can be regarded as the most fundamental means of seeking peace in the conduct of inter-state relations. The philosophical basis avers a scenario whereby conflicting inter-state interests are resolved without resort to any form of conflict or war. It therefore presupposes a situation in which states assume the responsibility for ensuring peace,

harmony and tranquillity in the international system, because they all have stakes in the system. Thus, no matter the level of opposition that the national interest of states may be, the overriding interest is that which encapsulates the interest of the entire system, which must be protected at all cost through non-military or violent means.

Diplomacy is therefore the tact and means of conducting international relations in a peaceful manner, with the sole aim of avoiding conflicts and wars. It is the art and practice of conducting [negotiations](#) between representatives of groups or states. Similarly, it can be referred to as the conduct of [international relations](#) through the intercession of professional diplomats with regard to issues of peace-making, trade, [war](#), [economics](#), [culture](#), [environment](#) and [human rights](#).

3.2 History

The practice of diplomacy as an instrument by which the conduct of international relations is undertaken through peaceful means has undergone series of transformation over the various eons. As the globe enters the various epochs, so does the practice of diplomacy adopt new methods, discard old unprofitable ways, in order to adapt to the current realities in the relationship among states. Being an instrument used specifically by state-actors, it has evolved as a compilation of the norms, values, customs, and traditions of various states. In this respect, each and every state in the various era has contributed to the practice of diplomacy. We shall therefore be examining at the origin of diplomacy from the period of ancient civilisation.

Ancient Greece: the origin of European diplomacy can be traced to the first set of city-states in ancient Greece. The origins of diplomacy are in the strategic and competitive exchange of impressive gifts. It later developed to a stage where diplomats were sent only for specific missions, basically for negotiations, and would return immediately after the mission was concluded. Diplomacy was characterised by the employment of relatives of the ruling family or of very high ranking members of society in order to give them legitimacy when they sought to negotiate with the other state (Berridge, 2005). In essence, there were no permanent diplomatic representatives posted to the territories of the city-states.

However, at a later stage, the arrangement was such that the position of “proxenos” was created. These personalities were citizens of the host-city who act on behalf of the sending city to negotiate and conduct all other issues of diplomacy with their own government. These officials were selected on the basis of the particular relations of friendship shared

with the sending state; this is sometimes a hereditary form of relationship in some families.

Ancient Rome: it is on record that the states of Northern Italy during the Renaissance in the 13th century played a significant role in the development of diplomatic practice. Milan, Tuscany, Venice was known for some of the landmark developments of diplomacy. Significantly, Milan under Francesco Sforza established permanent embassies in the other cities of Northern Italy. With the passage of time, some of the current practices such as the presentation of an ambassador's credentials to the head-of-state of the host-state started in the Italian peninsula. Indeed, Milan sent a representative to the court of France way back in 1455; this act opened the floodgate for the exchanges of representatives among the countries in Europe, including Spain, England and Germany (Berridge, 2005). Subsequently, the idea of sending permanent representatives and indeed opening permanent missions became customary.

Development came to the practice of diplomacy in record time through the various rules that were adopted. The post of the ambassador as the highest ranking representative was created. The ambassador was made-up as a nobleman, whose level of nobility is connected with the prestige of the country he was sent as representative. Having been delegated as the ear, eyes and the mouth of his government, the ambassador is treated like the head-of-state in a friendly land. The ambassador was provided with large residences, provided with the financial resources to undertake lavish social functions, and he was allowed to play an important role in the court life of the host-nation.

In the centuries between the 16th and 19th century, series of events occurred in the Europe that have shaped modern diplomatic practices. Some of these included disagreements over the ranking of officials, the pedigree of diplomatic officials, and the size of missions, among others. Most of these issues were put to rest with the fall of Napoleon and the subsequent Congress of Vienna in 1815, where an international system of diplomatic ranking was established. By the end of the Second World War, the rank of ambassador as the highest ranking officer became the norm. The European system set the pace for modern diplomatic practices; in this form we have the bilateral and multilateral systems of diplomacy. Similarly, there is the conference and the quiet diplomacy.

3.3 Typologies

Bilateral diplomacy

This is the conduct of diplomacy between two sovereign states- this form of interaction between states is not an all-comers affair. Basically,

it can consist of all patterns of relationships; economic political or cultural. The most fundamental principle is that the number of states involved is limited to two. Instructively, a particular state would tend to have bilateral relations with series of other states. This means that there are usually pockets of bilateral relations between states across the broad spectrum of the international system at any given time. Most often, trade agreements between two countries are typical examples of bilateral diplomacy.

However, there have been arguments among scholars that bilateral diplomacy has failed woefully in achieving the mandate that the conduct of diplomacy is meant to achieve. One of the most apparent examples of the failure is the outbreak of the First World War. It is believed that the complex pre-war system of bilateral treaties had made it impossible to prevent the war. This argument is based on the belief that it was easier for nations to launch attacks on other nations that they had not treaties with. This allowed for encouraging aggressive adventures with reckless abandon, in the pursuit of national interest.

Similarly, bilateral diplomacy is regarded as overly protectionist, thereby shutting out non-treaty members in trade relations. This is somewhat disadvantageous, even to those states involved in such bilateral treaties. Specifically, the resort to bilateral trade agreements after the Great Depression was fingered for the deepening of global economic downturn. Bilateral trade practices succeeded in producing a cycle of rising tariffs.

On a positive note though, bilateralism possesses a flexibility and ease that is required for forging a common front and achieving common purposes. Furthermore, it favours the more powerful state, because, disparities in power, resources, finance, armament or technology are more easily exploitable in bilateral diplomacy.

Multilateral diplomacy

This refers to the conduct of diplomacy through the concerted efforts of a multiple of sovereign states. The underlining principle of multilateralism is that the creation of a broad-based avenue for discussing and taking action on issues concerning a single state, groups of states or multiple states would most likely prevent confrontation. Under the umbrella of multilateralism, states are encouraged to be allies and enjoined to fight for the cause of a common humanity, rather for narrow selfish interests.

The end of the Napoleonic wars ushered in the era of multilateralism to international relations. This encouraged the concert of Europe under the aegis of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The main intention was to

peacefully settle the issues that led to the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars. This also encouraged the setting-up of conference of Berlin in 1884 to dissuade European states from taking up arms against one-another in their scramble for African colonies. This multilateral arrangement helped Europeans to peacefully share African territories.

Based on the inability to manage the complications arising from the creation of Germany, among other factors, cracks appeared in the Euro-centric system, and the First World War broke out. This however discouraged world leaders in their belief of the efficacy of multilateralism in assuring peace and harmony in the system, hence, the creations of the League of Nations after the First World War. But based on the contradictions inherent in the creation of the League of Nations, the Second World War broke out. Yet again after the war, the world took a recourse to another multilateral organisation; the United Nations organisation. Indeed, the UN emerged as the true multilateral organisation principally as a result of the inclusion of the United States and USSR.

In the other forms of relationship, multilateralism has also become very relevant in the assurances of world peace and harmony. Thus, as against the continuation of bilateral relations, such multilateral organisations as the, World Trade Organisation (WTO), World Health Organisation (WHO), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), among others have been established to foster peaceful and harmonious coexistence among states.

3.4 Techniques

Diplomacy seeks to resolve conflict of interests among nations and to guarantee national interests in the international system. This is mostly in non-violent manner. To achieve this, certain instruments are employed. The instruments of the state craft include negotiation, persuasion, propaganda, mediation and conciliation, economic pressure, invocation of international judicial procedure, collective action through international security agencies, threat or demonstration of force, forceful measures short of war, full blown war, or self-imposed isolation among others.

Negotiation

This involves the discussion among sovereign nation-states on issues of conflict or areas of co-operation to bring about some results, mostly in terms of agreed rules of conduct in their interaction or reciprocal obligation. Negotiations may proceed at any one of several levels and sometimes simultaneously at two or more levels i.e. could be directly between head of government (summit level), correspondence or talks

between foreign ministers (conference) or at plenary level among ambassadors of countries at international fora, e.g. UN general assembly.

Persuasion

Another basic technique of diplomacy is persuasion. This is an act of persuading or eliciting desired response or favourable reaction from the representative of another government by inducement, appeals to reason, magnanimity, self respect, pride or even fear. At times, it could involve moral suasion or dissuasion of a country from embarking on a disastrous action. Through manipulation of words or press statement, statesmen and diplomats seek favourable responses to their policies and actions. At the failure of persuasion, attempts are made for compromises.

Propaganda

This is the deliberate manipulation of symbols with the purpose of affecting men's ideas, attitudes or behaviour in a particular way. It consists of messages in a context of action. It is aimed at psychological manipulation of opponents and attraction of sympathy, widespread support and approval. The purpose is to inspire the audience to act in a particular way. Most often it involves the distortion and upending of facts and reality. It was a prominent instrument during the Cold War era.

Mediation and conciliation

When nations cannot achieve or reach agreements through their own resources, a third party may offer its good offices to help the disputant reach a compromise by providing an amicable platform for settlement. It does not only act as a channel of communication, it also offers suggestions for resolution.

Coercion

It is one of the forceful acts, which does not involve physical violence, but instituted to get the cooperation of the other parties involved. It could be withdrawal of diplomatic relations as a coercive element. It may also involve issuing of an ultimatum. It could involve the imposition of economic sanction on opponents for defaulting on negotiated or bargained outcomes.

Judicial proceedings

This is the instrument of a nation state availing itself of the international judicial court system, in most cases, following the ineffectiveness of bilateral diplomacy. Cameroon adopted this in its relation with Nigeria over the Bakassi Peninsula.

Arbitration

Nations sometimes resort to international arbitration when faced with a specific question or point of contention in need of resolution. For most

of history, there were no official or formal procedures for such proceedings. They were generally accepted to abide by general principles and protocols related to [international law](#) and justice. Sometimes these took the form of formal arbitrations and mediations. In such cases a commission of diplomats might be convened to hear all sides of an issue, and to come some sort of ruling based on international law. In the modern era, much of this work is often carried out by the [International Court of Justice](#) at [The Hague](#), or other formal commissions, agencies and tribunals, working under the [United Nations](#).

Conferences

Other times, resolutions were sought through the convening of international conferences. In such cases, there are fewer ground rules, and fewer formal applications of international law. However, participants are expected to guide themselves through principles of international fairness, logic, and protocol.

Some examples of these formal conferences are:

- [Congress of Vienna](#) (1815) – After [Napoleon](#) was defeated, there were many diplomatic questions waiting to be resolved. This included the shape of the map of [Europe](#), the disposition of political and [nationalist](#) claims of various ethnic groups and nationalities wishing to have some political autonomy, and the resolution of various claims by various European powers.
- The [Congress of Berlin](#) (June 13 – July 13, 1878) was a meeting of the European Great Powers' and the Ottoman Empire's leading statesmen in Berlin in 1878. In the wake of the [Russo-Turkish War](#), 1877–78, the meeting's aim was to reorganise conditions in the Balkans.

3.5 Characteristics of Diplomacy

Diplomacy as a reflection of world politics

The rules and rituals of international diplomacy have never been a self-contained system. The picture of the diplomat as an impeccably mannered aristocrat exchanging toasts, repartee, and subtle threats with his counterparts is a caricature derived from the Parisian scene in the court of Louis XIV. Rather, the protocols of diplomacy have always been a subsystem of the more comprehensive system of political relationships prevailing during a particular era among various sets of countries and international organisations. Thus, as world politics have evolved, so have the rituals, forms, and objectives of diplomacy, even though its most basic function to forge agreements among international actors has persisted.

The Requisites of effective diplomacy

Diplomacy in the world polity, like legislation in domestic politics, is directed toward getting parties to agree on a particular course of action (or inaction), so they will not have to be physically forced to accept it. But unlike the domestic legislative process, in which it is sufficient to obtain agreement among a controlling majority for the course of action to take place, in international diplomacy each participating state normally has the recognized unilateral right to accept or refuse what even a substantial majority of the states have agreed upon. (The major exception to this norm is the UN Security Council's authority, in situations threatening international peace and security, to order all states to obey its resolution.) Thus, diplomatic strategies must always be targeted specifically on each state whose adherence to an agreement is sought. Each state must be convinced that its own interests will be better served by agreeing to the arrangements under discussion than in refusing to agree.

Effective diplomacy, accordingly, requires the ability to induce agreement from states that may initially be opposed to a contemplated arrangement, but whose acquiescence is essential for its realization. Skilful diplomats are able to secure favourable terms for their countries by persuasively outlining the benefits and costs their counterparts can expect from alternative arrangements. This requires a detailed and accurate understanding of both the material conditions and the political circumstances (domestic and international) of the countries involved in a particular diplomatic encounter.

States with the material resources to affect their counterparts' preferences for alternative outcomes by credibly offering to provide valued objects ('carrots') or threatening to apply uncomfortable or painful sanctions ('sticks') have traditionally enjoyed an enormous advantage in the arenas of international diplomacy. But increasingly, states, international organisations, and political movements, deficient in the relevant material assets are able to redress such resource-power imbalances through artful appeal to, and manipulation of, the cultural and political values of the parties to a negotiation, other governments, and implicated transnational and sub national groups. Success in regional and global coalition-building (what used to be called 'balance of power' politics), now penetrating beyond the crust of state sovereignty, has become the most important requisite of effective diplomacy, especially the new diplomacy.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Finally, diplomacy is seen as fundamental to international relations. The art of diplomacy has been able to contain the possibilities of violent confrontations in the international system. The various modes and methods of diplomacy have been most relevant in curtailing the outbreak of major international wars.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, the unit captured the relevant issues of diplomacy like the techniques and the various types of diplomacy open to state-actors in the international system.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Explain the various techniques of diplomacy.
- ii. What types of diplomacy exists?

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UNIT 4 PEACE MODELS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Nature and Character of International Peace
 - 3.2 Peace-building
 - 3.3 Peace-keeping
 - 3.4 Peace-enforcement
 - 3.5 Peace-making
- 4.0 Conclusion
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The unit specifically explains the various measures employed in keeping and maintaining global peace and security.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the efforts made to ensure peace and security
- differentiate among the various peace efforts
- explain issues in post-conflict reconstruction

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Nature and Character of International Peace

3.2 Peacemaking

Peacemaking refers to the conduct of international relations on the basis of the prevention of conflict and war. It involves the efforts put in by diplomats and politicians to ensure that possible belligerents are presented with other possible courses of action other than conflict or war. It provides for the use of an array of methods such as negotiation in the absence of the non-military tools of coercion in order to achieve the resolution of a conflict. Peacemaking precedes any aggressive action

before the commencement or escalation of any conflict. Peacemaking is usually engaged side-by-side with peacekeeping and peace-enforcement of operations. It never ceases until absolute peace is achieved. The political goals and objectives established for the peacemaking effort help define the military objectives of the intervening forces and provide the commander parameters within which to develop supporting operational planning and execution.

Peacemaking therefore constitutes the political framework for the application of military force. Without a peacemaking effort, peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations will always fail (Zartman, 2007). Mohandas Gandhi is highly revered as a peacemaking theorist. He noted in particular that leaders who had been successful at violent strategies were counter-productive in peace time, simply because these strategies now had to be abandoned. But if a movement had adulated and emulated these people, it was unlikely ever to be able to make permanent peace even with those factions it had conquered or dominated, simply because the leaders lacked the skills and had become leaders in part for their suppression of the other side. Accordingly, even if a movement were to benefit from violent action, and even if such action was extremely effective in ending some other oppression, no movement that sought long-term peace could safely hold up these acts or persons as a [moral example](#) or advise emulating either.

In summary, peacemaking is the first step to achieving peace when conflict breaks out. This concentrates on evolving diplomatic measures to negotiate a ceasefire and agreement to which all parties agree, accepting that no gains are to be won by continuing the conflict. Implementing such agreement and rebuilding communication must be undertaken through both formal and informal channels in order to build the foundation for future reconciliation.

3.2 Peacekeeping

This is an essential aspect of the peace process that would guarantee the consolidation of peace, and make the peace attained, enduring and entrenched. The peacekeeping mechanism allows for the presence of groups of neutral soldiers (peacekeepers), military observers, civilian police, electoral observers and human rights monitors after agreements, that are most often fragile have been signed. The presence of the peacekeepers often discourages hostile groups from restating hostility. The responsibilities of peacekeepers may include the establishment and policing of buffer zones, demobilisation and disarmament of military forces, establishing communication between parties, and protecting the delivery of humanitarian assistance. Peacekeeping has been provided with unique strength to the extent that it is adopted in most conflict

areas, such strengths include; burden sharing, and an ability to deploy and sustain troops and police from around the globe, integrating them with civilian peacemakers to advance multidimensional mandates. In effect, peacekeeping operations are military operations conducted with the consent of the belligerent parties to maintain a negotiated truce and to facilitate a diplomatic resolution. It involves different forms of supervision and monitoring that includes:

- a. Withdrawals and disengagements
- b. Cease-fires
- c. Prisoner-of-war exchanges
- d. Arms control
- e. Demilitarisation and demobilisation

Peacekeeping operations are undertaken under certain scenarios. Firstly, the effort is geared towards support for diplomatic efforts to achieve, restore, or maintain the peace in areas of potential or actual conflict. The fundamental military consideration in peacekeeping is the political objective of the operation. Military forces are designated to operate within clearly defined and carefully prescribed limits established by agreement between the belligerents and other concerned parties.

Under the terms of engagement, peacekeeping forces assume that the use of force will not be required to carry out their assignments, except in self-defense. They are structured, trained and equipped under the assumption. Extreme restraint in both appearance and application of force is crucial to maintain a posture of impartiality and neutrality toward the belligerents.

It should be noted that peacekeeping forces possess the quality called the “hostage effect”. With no heavy arms and operating under very restrictive rules of engagement, the peacekeeping force derives protection from the belligerents by its inability to change the military balance and its non-threatening posture. This allows the force unimpeded access throughout the area/region to carry out its duties and responsibilities. Of note however is that the peacekeeping force represents a potentially much larger force, in effect, this is the source of its strength and power over the belligerents.

Specifically, peacekeeping is made to operate on the basis of three fundamental principles:

- a. Consent of the parties
- b. Impartiality
- c. Non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate

Although, the UN is not the only international organisation to engage in peacekeeping operations in the world, but the UN's operational processes has always provided framework of how a peacekeeping operation should work. The UN peacekeeping process is operated in the following format.

Once a peace treaty has been negotiated, the parties involved might ask the United Nations for a peacekeeping force to oversee various elements of the agreed upon plan. This is often done because a group controlled by the United Nations is less likely to follow the interests of any one party, since it itself is controlled by many groups, namely the 15-member Security Council and the intentionally-diverse [United Nations secretariat](#).

If the Security Council approves the creation of a mission, then the [department of peacekeeping operations](#) begins planning for the necessary elements. At this point, the senior leadership team is selected. The department will then seek contributions from member nations. Since the UN has no standing force or supplies, it must form ad hoc coalitions for every task undertaken. Doing so results in both the possibility of failure to form a suitable force, and a general slowdown in procurement once the operation is in the field.

While the peacekeeping force is being assembled, a variety of diplomatic activities are being undertaken by UN staff. The exact size and strength of the force must be agreed to by the government of the nation whose territory the conflict is on. The [rules of engagement](#) must be developed and approved by both the parties involved and the Security Council. These give the specific mandate and scope of the mission (e.g. when may the peacekeepers, if armed, use force, and where may they go within the host nation). Often, it will be mandated that peacekeepers have host government minders with them whenever they leave their base. This complexity has caused problems in the field.

When all agreements are in place, the required personnel are assembled, and final approval has been given by the Security Council, the peacekeepers are deployed to the region in question.

Structurally, a United Nations peacekeeping mission has three power centres. The first is the special representative of the [secretary-general](#), the official leader of the mission. This person is responsible for all political and diplomatic activity, overseeing relations with both the parties to the peace treaty and the UN member-states in general. They are often a senior member of the secretariat. The second is the force commander, who is responsible for the military forces deployed. They

are a senior officer of their nation's armed services, and are often from the nation committing the highest number of troops to the project. Finally, the chief administrative officer oversees supplies and logistics, and coordinates the procurement of any supplies needed.

3.3 Peace-Building

The whole idea of peace-building is on the basis that at the end of conflict or war, the rebuilding of society transcends the repair and rebuilding of infrastructures destroyed during the war, and involves rebuilding peace between, and among belligerent groups, forces and interests. Peace-building is therefore an exercise undertaken after a war has been fought, won and lost.

Peace-building is therefore a long, lengthy and complex process that requires the establishment of a climate of tolerance and respect for the truth. It encompasses a wide range of political, developmental, humanitarian and human rights programs and mechanisms. Some of the processes include the reintegration of soldiers and refugees, demining and removal of other war debris, emergency relief, the repair of roads and infrastructure and economic and social rehabilitation. It is usually a lengthy and complex process that sometimes, the legacy of conflict can remain in communities for generations.

Thus, there are some basic activities and issues that have to be taken into consideration in the processes of peace-building. These are;

- **Humanitarian relief and development** - this involves delivering aid (food, water, health-care and construction of infrastructure) to communities that have suffered conflict. This needs to be carefully managed to avoid deepening divisions between groups or prolonging the conflict.
- **Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of combatants**
 - transforming ex-combatants into peaceful and productive members of society is a critical but challenging task. Removing weapons, returning ex-combatants to their homes and supporting return to civilian life are all vitally necessary.
- **Refugees and displaced people** - people returning home after the conflict may find their property have been destroyed, littered with unexploded ordinance and landmines or occupied by others. Mechanisms are needed for resettling people and helping them return to a safe and productive life and preventing future conflict.

- **Economic development** - assisting communities to become self-supporting after so much has been destroyed is equally vital. It can be done through small loans, training and food for work programmes. Rebuilding infrastructure supports these developments through making access to markets and contact with other communities easier.
- **Women** - armed conflicts have different effects on men and women. Women bear the brunt of sexual assault as a tool of war. They also experience changes in their role as a result of the dislocation that is visited on families during wars. Their specific needs may be taken for granted as they are not as obvious as the resettlement needs of ex-combatants.
- **Children** - often the lives of children are disrupted during wars, such disruption may be as a result of being forced to flee their homes, gone without food, education, and health care, and witnessed extreme violence or been recruited or conscripted as child-soldiers, to be active combatants. Rebuilding the lives of such people entails assisting with social rehabilitation, trauma counselling and peace education.
- **Reconciliation** - all wars are brutal and particularly so where there has been the mass killing of civilians. Developing trust and cooperation within communities of people who have been enemies is a long and difficult process. It involves balancing the competing demands for justice and accountability for perpetrators of violence with the need to reconcile differences and move forward. Timing is crucial as too few compromises may threaten peace in the short-run but too many compromises may undermine lasting peace. Reconciliation activities have included public confession, granting amnesty, community involvement to discuss appropriate punishment or acts of reconciliation, community building activities and peace education.

Invariably therefore, peace-building is the set of initiatives by diverse actors in government and civil society to address the root causes of violence and protect civilians before, during, and after violent conflict. Peace-builders use communication, negotiation, and mediation instead of belligerence and violence to resolve conflicts. Effective peace-building is multi-faceted and adapted to each conflict environment. There is no one path to peace, but pathways are available in every conflict environment. Peace-builders help belligerents find a path that will enable them to resolve their differences without bloodshed. The ultimate objective of peace-building is to reduce and eliminate the

frequency and severity of violent conflict. Peace-building missions also engage in:

- Providing technical assistance for democratic development
- Promoting conflict resolution and reconciliation
- Re-integrating former combatants into civilian society
- Strengthening the rule of law
- Improving the standard of living and protecting human rights
- Security sector reform.

3.4 Peace-Enforcement

This refers to the means by which armed force is deployed to attain a truce between combatants and to create a cease-fire where none exists. In addition, force may also be applied in the creation of other peaceful ends, such as, safe havens for victims of the hostilities. In other words, it is forceful actions undertaken to keep a cease-fire from being violated or to reinstate a failed cease-fire. It could therefore be assumed that peace-enforcement is applied in atmosphere in which at least one of the belligerents does not welcome the peace-enforcers. Thus, the peace-enforcers are also active combatants that must force a cease-fire that is opposed by at least one of the combatants, peace-enforcers may therefore not be categorised as neutrals in a conflict or war situation.

This unique arrangement recognises the fact that peace-enforcers may disregard state sovereignty, particularly if the mission takes place within the territory of the combatant that opposes peace and has not invited the peace-enforcers into the territory. Under the circumstances, an international mandate is usually required for the operation to be considered legitimate.

Based on the fact that the enforcement force may resort to the use of arms against the belligerents, it must deploy with sufficient military strength to achieve those objectives established by political authorities. Unlike peacekeeping, enforcement will require a full range of military capabilities that has the potential to meet or exceed that of the belligerents. Although the preferred objective is commitment of superior military force to dissuade belligerents from further conflict, forces deployed for the operations should assume for planning purposes that use of force will be necessary to restore peace. But unlike war, enforcement operations are more constrained by political factors designed to bring warring parties to the negotiating table. The emphasis is therefore, settlement, and not victory.

Peace enforcement has largely been avoided in the past. The level of violence encountered by peacekeeping operations in some areas (such as

the [1994 events](#) in [Rwanda](#), where several [Belgian](#) soldiers were forced to watch the ongoing massacres and were ultimately killed themselves without being allowed to engage) has shocked the international community and led to unwillingness on the part of nations not otherwise involved to enter peacekeeping operations in potentially "hot" conflicts unless they have the ability to use force if necessary.

The peace-enforcement force will presumably have to fight its way into the combat zone and use force to physically separate combatants. It will likely inflict and suffer casualties; possibly making it less welcome and undercutting domestic support back home for its mission. The peace enforcement force is not suited for transition to a peacekeeping force primarily because it can never be considered neutral again.

Finally, it must be noted that peace enforcement cannot solve the underlying problems in most areas it is employed. The building of forces to ensure that combats is stopped, and making the continuation of violence impossible; it cannot, in and of itself, create the conditions for lasting peace, which involves the political embrace of peace as more attractive than war. The insertion of outside force may break the cycle of violence and convince the combatants that resistance to peace enforcers is more painful than compliance to an imposed peace. Since these conflicts are normally very deeply rooted and desperate, the shock effect of outside force may prove to be no more than a break between rounds of fighting.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The unit has been able to explore all the major issues pertaining to international peace and security. Though, it is expected that belligerents would provide avenue for third-party intervention, if it does not happen, actors in the system reserve the right to explore other means of intervention.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, this unit captures all the areas of diplomacy. This includes how to make peace, build peace, enforce peace and keep peace.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Differentiate between peacemaking and peacekeeping.
- ii. List the various engagements of peace missions.
- iii. Explain the issues to be taken into consideration during peace-building.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Black, J. (1998). *Why Wars Happen*. London: Reaktion Books.

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UNIT 5 COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEMS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The unit is an exposition of achieving peace and security in the international system through collaborative efforts. These efforts come in form of the agreement of cooperation of states to devise mechanisms for international security without infringing on individual sovereignty of states. We would be examining the workings of those institutions towards the maintenance of international peace and security.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the character of the international system
- describe the intentions of the state-actors in maintaining the peace
- explain how the UN has been able to ensure global security and peaceful co-existence.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Content and Context of the Collective Security System

Collective security system is a mechanism designed for collaboration among nations in working towards putting an end to the scourge of war.

Humanity has been visited with conflicts and wars for centuries; these have always had devastating effects on lives and properties. Europe, being the epicentre of international relations in the earlier period was confronted with agitations and aggression from member-countries, the world never stopped seeking for solution in order to put an end to the carnage caused by the European powers. The inability to put a stop led to series of wars. Despite the efforts made in this direction, the wars never really ceased, they continued and were constant.

The collective security system employs a scientific formula to ensure an end to war and warring situations. Collective security can be understood as a security arrangement in which all states cooperate collectively to provide security for all by the actions of all against any states within the groups which might challenge the existing order by using force. This contrasts with self-help strategies of engaging in war for purely immediate national interest. While collective security is possible, several prerequisites have to be met for it to work.

Sovereign nations eager to maintain the status quo, willingly cooperate, accepting a degree of vulnerability and in some cases of minor nations, also accede to the interests of the chief contributing nations organising the collective security. Collective security is achieved by setting up an international cooperative organisation, under the auspices of international law and this gives rise to a form of international collective governance, albeit limited in scope and effectiveness. The collective security organisation then becomes an arena for diplomacy, balance of power and exercise of soft power. The use of hard power by states, unless legitimised by the Collective security organisation, is considered illegitimate, reprehensible and needing remediation of some kind. The collective security organisation not only gives cheaper security, but also may be the only practicable means of security for smaller nations against more powerful threatening neighbours without the need of joining the camp of the nations balancing their neighbours.

3.2 Concert of Europe

The concert of Europe, also known as the congress system after the [congress of Vienna](#), was the [balance of power](#) that existed in [Europe](#) from the end of the [Napoleonic Wars](#) (1815) to the outbreak of [World War I](#) (1914) albeit with major alterations after the [revolutions of 1848](#). Its founding powers were [Austria](#), [Prussia](#), the [Russian Empire](#) and the [United Kingdom](#), the members of the [quadruple alliance](#) responsible for the downfall of the [first French empire](#). In time [France](#) was established as a fifth member of the concert. The age of the concert is sometimes known as the age of Metternich, due to the influence of the Austrian chancellor's [conservatism](#) and the dominance of Austria within the

[German confederation](#), or as the European restoration, because of the [reactionary](#) efforts of the congress of Vienna to restore Europe to its state before the [French revolution](#). The rise of [nationalism](#), the [unification of Germany](#) and the [Eastern question](#) were among the factors which brought an end to the concert's effectiveness. Among the meetings of the [great powers](#) during this period were: [Aix-la-Chappelle](#) (1818), [Carlsbad](#) (1819), [Verona](#) (1822), [London](#) (1832), [Berlin](#) (1878).

The concert of Europe had no written rules or permanent institutions but at times of crisis any of them could propose a conference. The concert of Europe, as developed by [Metternich](#), drew upon their ideas and the notion of a [balance of power in international relations](#); that the ambitions of each [great power](#) was curbed by the others.

3.3 League of Nations

The concept of a peaceful community of nations had been proposed as far back as 1795, when [Immanuel Kant](#)'s *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* outlined the idea of a league of nations to control conflict and promote peace among states. Kant argued for the establishment of a peaceful world community, not in a sense of a global government, but in the hope that each state would declare itself a free state that respects its citizens and welcomes foreign visitors as fellow rational beings, thus promoting peaceful society worldwide.

The forerunner of the League of Nations was the [inter-parliamentary union](#), which was formed in 1889. The organisation was international in scope, with a third of the members of [parliaments](#) (in the 24 countries that had parliaments) serving as members of the IPU by 1914. Its aims were to encourage governments to solve international disputes by peaceful means. Annual conferences were held to help governments refine the process of international arbitration. At the start of the 20th century, two power blocs emerged from alliances between the European [great powers](#). It was these alliances that, at the [start of the First World War](#) in 1914, drew all the major European powers into the conflict. This was the first major war in Europe between industrialised countries, and the first time in Western Europe that the results of [industrialisation](#) had been dedicated to war. The result of this industrialised warfare was an unprecedented casualty level.

By the time the fighting ended in November 1918, the war had had a profound impact, affecting the social, political and economic systems of Europe and inflicting psychological and physical damage. Anti-war sentiment rose across the world; the First World War was described as "[the war to end all wars](#)", and its possible causes were vigorously investigated. The causes identified included arms races, alliances, secret

diplomacy, and the freedom of sovereign states to enter into war for their own benefit. One proposed remedy was the creation of an international organisation whose aim was to prevent future war through disarmament, open diplomacy, international co-operation, restrictions on the right to wage war, and penalties that made war unattractive.

While the First World War was still underway, a number of governments and groups had already started developing plans to change the way international relations were carried out to try to prevent another such conflict. United States president [Woodrow Wilson](#) enthusiastically promoted the idea of the league as a means of avoiding any repetition of the bloodshed of the First World War, and the creation of the league was a centrepiece of Wilson's [14 Points for Peace](#).

The [Paris peace conference](#), convened to build a lasting peace after the First World War, approved the proposal to create the League of Nations. The [covenant of the League of Nations](#) was drafted by a special commission, and the league was established by part one of the [treaty of Versailles](#). On 28 June 1919, 44 states signed the covenant, including 31 states which had taken part in the war on the side of the [Triple Entente](#) or joined it during the conflict. The league held its first council meeting in Paris on 16 January 1920, six days after the Versailles treaty came into force. In November, the headquarters of the league was moved to Geneva, where the first General Assembly was held on 15 November 1920. The league however failed in its responsibilities, and in its place, the United Nations was created after the Second World War.

3.4 United Nations

The [League of Nations](#) failed to prevent [World War II](#) (1939–1945). Because of the widespread recognition that [humankind](#) could not afford a third world war, the United Nations was established to replace the flawed League of Nations in 1945 in order to maintain international peace and promote cooperation in solving international economic, social and humanitarian problems. The earliest concrete plan for a new world organisation was begun under the aegis of the U.S. State department in 1939. [Franklin D. Roosevelt](#) first coined the term 'United Nations' as a term to describe the [allied countries](#). The term was first officially used on 1 January 1942, when 26 governments signed the [Atlantic Charter](#), pledging to continue the war effort. On 25 April 1945, the [UN Conference on International Organisations](#) began in San Francisco, attended by fifty governments and a number of non-governmental organisations involved in drafting the [United Nations Charter](#). The UN officially came into existence on 24 October 1945 upon ratification of the charter by the five permanent members of the [Security Council](#)—France, the [Republic of China](#), the [Soviet Union](#), the United Kingdom

and the United States—and by a majority of the other 46 signatories. The first meetings of the [General Assembly](#), with 51 nations represented, and the Security Council, took place in [Westminster Central Hall](#) in London in January 1946.

The United Nations (UN) has emerged as an [international organisation](#) whose stated aims are facilitating cooperation in [international law](#), [international security](#), [economic development](#), [social progress](#), human rights, and achievement of [world peace](#). The UN was founded in 1945 after World War II to replace the [League of Nations](#), to stop wars between countries, and to provide a platform for dialogue. It contains multiple subsidiary organisations to carry out its missions. Ever since the creation of the UN, there has not been any world war, and the efforts of the UN in managing conflicts all over the world is acknowledged by the whole world.

3.5 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is a military alliance consisting of membership cutting across Europe and America. Formed in 1949 on the heels of the Cold War, NATO was set up largely to discourage an attack by the Soviet Union on the non-Communist nations of Western Europe. After World War II ended in 1945, an intense rivalry had developed between Communist countries, led by the Soviet Union, and non-Communist nations, led by the United States. In 1955, the Soviet Union and Communist nations of Eastern Europe formed their own military alliance to oppose NATO. The Soviet-led alliance was called the Warsaw pact. NATO was established not only to discourage Communist aggression but also to keep the peace among former enemies in Western Europe. In World War II, for example, Italy and Germany had fought most of the other countries that later became NATO members. In forming NATO, each member country agreed to treat an attack on any other member as an attack on itself. Militarily, the United States was--and still is--the alliance's most powerful member, in part because of its large supply of nuclear weapons. The NATO countries believed that the Soviet Union would not attack Western Europe if Soviet leaders thought such an attack would trigger war with the United States (Clausson, 2006).

NATO's policy is known as deterrence because it is designed to deter (discourage) an attack. NATO's purpose, however, has been less clear since the Warsaw pact and the Soviet Union were dissolved in 1991. NATO has both a civilian branch and a military branch. The civilian branch includes the North Atlantic council, the highest authority in NATO. The council consists of the heads of government of the NATO members or their representatives. A secretary-general heads the council.

A European has always been chosen for this post. Decisions of the council must be unanimous. NATO's military branch includes three commands: Allied Command Atlantic, Allied Command Channel, and Allied Command Europe. Allied Command Europe has traditionally functioned as the heart of NATO. Its commander has always been a U.S. General. NATO's military commanders report to the organisation's Military Committee, which reports, in turn, to the North Atlantic Council. The Military Committee consists of the military chiefs of staff or other representatives of the NATO nations.

The [treaty of Brussels](#), signed on 17 March 1948 by Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, and the United Kingdom, is considered the precursor to the NATO agreement. The treaty and the Soviet [Berlin Blockade](#) led to the creation of the [Western European Union's](#) Defence organisation in September 1948. However, participation of the United States was thought necessary to counter the military power of the USSR, and talks for a new military alliance began almost immediately resulting in the [North Atlantic treaty](#), which was signed in Washington, D.C. on 4 April 1949. It included the five Treaty of Brussels states plus the United States, Canada, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. Popular support for the treaty was not unanimous, and some Icelanders commenced a [pro-neutrality, anti-membership riot](#) in March 1949.

The members agreed that an armed attack against any one of them in Europe or North America would be considered an attack against them all. Consequently they agreed that, if an armed attack occurred, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence, would assist the member being attacked, taking such action as it deemed necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. The treaty does not require members to respond militarily action against aggressor. Although obliged to respond, they maintain the freedom to choose the method. This differs from Article IV of the treaty of Brussels, which clearly states that the response will be military in nature. It is nonetheless assumed that NATO members will aid the attacked member militarily. The treaty was later clarified to include both the member's territory and their "vessels, forces or aircraft" above the Tropic of Cancer, including some [overseas departments](#) of [France](#) (Wenger, Nuenlist & Loche, 2007).

NATO's history dates back to the signing of the North Atlantic treaty, which was signed by 12 countries on April 4, 1949, in Washington, D.C. The 12 countries were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952. West Germany joined in 1955. Germany replaced West Germany

as a NATO member in 1990, when West Germany and East Germany were united. Spain joined NATO in 1982. During the Cold War, NATO helped maintain peace in Europe through its policy of deterrence. But it also experienced disagreements among its members, the most troublesome involved nuclear weapons. United States officials generally insisted that NATO rely on nuclear weapons to deter a Soviet attack. Some people in NATO countries, however, opposed the use of these weapons. Also, European countries occasionally doubted that the United States would actually use nuclear weapons to defend Europe. Their doubts were based on the fact that the Soviet Union also had a powerful nuclear force. For these reasons, Britain and France built their own nuclear weapons. In 1966, France pulled its troops out of the NATO military command, though it remained a NATO member. Before France withdrew its troops, NATO's central office had been in Paris. In 1967, the organisation moved its headquarters to Brussels, Belgium. NATO's biggest crisis followed the breakup of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union in 1991 (Wenger, Nuenlist & Loche, 2007). The Soviet Union broke apart into a number of independent states. Most of these states--and the Soviet Union's former allies in Eastern Europe--rejected Communism. Some people felt that without its traditional Communist enemies, NATO had lost its purpose and should be dissolved. Some NATO leaders proposed offering membership in NATO to such former Warsaw Pact lands as Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, and even Russia. Russia, the largest of the former Soviet states, had proclaimed itself the Soviet Union's successor. Other NATO leaders thought that bringing former enemies into NATO would make the alliance meaningless. Still others worried that offering membership to former Soviet allies, but not to Russia, might lead to a dangerous conflict with Russia. In an attempt to resolve the uncertainty about NATO's future, the alliance began the Partnership for Peace program in 1994. More than 20 countries joined the program, including Russia. Most of the other countries that joined were Eastern European nations. The program provides for joint military planning and exercises with NATO members but does not involve formal NATO membership.

After the Cold War, the shape of what NATO stands for became clearer. This was displayed with the military action against Bosnian Serb forces to help end a civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. NATO members had feared that the war might spread to other countries. The Bosnian Serbs were fighting the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. NATO's action increased tension between NATO and Russia, a traditional ally of the Serbs. In late 1995, the Bosnian government and the Bosnian Serbs agreed to a peace treaty, and NATO troops began to replace United Nations troops as the peacekeeping force in Bosnia". NATO forces have also been useful in maintaining peace in some other parts of the world, like it happened recently in Libya. With

NATO's assistance, the regime of Col. Gaddafi was restrained from killing the Libyan people.

The creation of NATO brought about some [standardisation](#) of allied [military terminology](#), procedures, and technology, which in many cases meant European countries adopting U.S. practices. The roughly 1300 [standardisation agreements](#) codified many of the common practices that NATO has achieved. Hence, the [7.62×51 NATO](#) rifle cartridge was introduced in the 1950s as a standard firearm cartridge among many NATO countries. [Fabrique Nationale de Herstal's FAL](#) became the most popular 7.62 NATO rifle in Europe and served into the early 1990s. Also, [aircraft marshalling signals](#) were standardised, so that any NATO aircraft could land at any NATO base. Other standards such as the [NATO phonetic alphabet](#) have made their way beyond NATO into civilian use. The success of the collective self defence organisation cannot be emphasised. It played a significant role in deterring the warring factions during the cold-war, and has also been useful as an instrument for maintaining global peace after the Cold War.

3.5 Warsaw Pact Treaty

The Warsaw treaty organisation of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance (1955–1991), or more commonly referred to as the Warsaw pact, was a [mutual defense](#) treaty between eight [Communist states](#) of Eastern Europe in existence during the [Cold War](#). The founding treaty was established under the initiative of the [Soviet Union](#) and signed on 14 May 1955, in [Warsaw](#), Poland. The Warsaw pact was the military complement to the [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance](#) (COMECA), the regional economic organisation for the communist states of Eastern Europe. The Warsaw pact was a Soviet military response to the integration of [West Germany](#) into [NATO](#) in 1955, as regards the [Paris pacts](#) of 1954.

The treaty was equally very effective as a deterrent mechanism while the Cold War lasted. Based on the fact that the organisation had in its possession, weapons of mass destruction, the opposing side found it suicidal to attack or infringe on the rights of the member-states that were signatories to the treaty. However, the treaty lost its steam and became moribund with the collapse of communism and the eventual disintegration of the former USSR. Despite this, the Warsaw pact was a remarkable and effective collective security system while it existed.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter has brought to light, the relevance of a collective security system for maintaining international peace and security. When an attack on one is presumed as an attack on the rest of the member-states, it translates to an attack from one, is an attack from all the member-states.

As such, the pooling of common resources to deter would-be aggressors has been fundamental to the sustenance of global peace and security.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, the unit explains the character of the international system on the basis of the intentions of the state-actors for seeking to maintain peace. From the ancient times of the concert of Europe to the contemporary system of the UN and NATO, the intent has always been to ensure global security and peaceful co-existence devoid of rancour and violence. Instructively though, this is sometimes achieved through the establishment of military forces to act as deterrence or check for 'spoilers' and 'would-be' aggressors.

Further, let us be reminded that security is presently construed beyond the use of force or military threats to include human security. Therefore, the collective security system will do well to expend some of its energies in addressing non-military threats to global peace and security.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i. Explain your understanding of the collective security system.
- ii. What makes NATO different from the UN?
- iii. What are the similarities between the concert of Europe and the League of Nations?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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